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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

The Future of the TVA
An Editorial

Where Can Consumers Get the Facts?
By T. Swann Harding

A California Fascist Retreats
By Don M. Chase

Cardinal Pacelli's Vacation
An Editorial

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In This Issue

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Coming

Just as Mr. Harding's article in this issue is one of the sort which hundreds of housewife-subscribers will clip and file away for frequent reference, so all those who have an interest in the religious factor in Europe's present strife will cherish the article on "The Catholic Stake in Europe's Confusion," soon to be published. The author is a journalist of international reputation whose present delicate assignment makes it necessary for him to write under a pen-name. . . . Many churches will find just the Armistice day observance they are seeking in the one-act play, "Prisons," in a forthcoming number. . . . What do we mean when we use the term "secular"? Or the term "religious"? Reinhold Niebuhr answers, showing that the terms have differing meanings in different countries.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

October 14, 1936

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Calendar of Coming Events

Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Coffeyville, Kans.
Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Charleston, W. Va.
Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Bluffton, Ind.
Oct. 14-16. Northern Baptist state convention, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
Oct. 14-16. 74th annual convention, state Sabbath school association and state council of Christian education, New Castle, Pa.
Oct. 14-21. Tenth biennial convention of the United Lutheran church, Columbus, O.
Oct. 15. State Sunday school convention, Peterborough, N. H.
Oct. 15-17. Northern Baptist state convention, Hartford, Conn.
Oct. 15-18. National preaching mission, Cleveland, O.
Oct. 16. Continuation of state Sunday school convention, Littleton, N. H. (Note change of place.)
Oct. 16, 17. Mohawk valley conference of Free churches, Rochester, N. Y. (Note change in date.)
Oct. 16-18. Twenty-fifth anniversary Kennedy school of missions, Hartford seminary foundation, Hartford, Conn.
Oct. 17. Inauguration of President S. G. Cole, Kalamazoo college, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Oct. 18. Chicago Sunday evening club; Most Rev. Derwyn Trevor Owen, primate of all Canada, speaker.
Oct. 18-21. National preaching mission, Des Moines, Ia.
Oct. 18-22. Northern Baptist state centennial, Detroit, Mich.
Oct. 20. Connecticut institute on church and social relations, Hartford Theological seminary.
Oct. 20-22. Northern Baptist state convention, Harrisburg, Pa.
Oct. 20-22. State conference of Congregational churches, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Oct. 22, 23. 78th state Sunday school convention, Faribault, Minn.
Oct. 22-25. National preaching mission, Omaha, Neb.
Oct. 23-25. Northern Baptist state convention, Cincinnati, O.
Oct. 20-22. Annual meeting, northern California Congregational conference.
Oct. 21-24. National council of Y.M.C.A., Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati, O.
Oct. 22, 23. 78th state Sunday school convention, Faribault, Minn.
Oct. 25. Chicago Sunday evening club; Dr. William Chalmers Covert, former moderator, Presbyterian church in U. S. A., speaker.
Oct. 25-28. National preaching mission, Billings, Mont.
Oct. 26. Pastors and religious educators luncheon-conference; Dr. C. C. Webber, speaker, The Whittier, Philadelphia.
Oct. 26-28. Northern Baptist state convention, Atlantic City, N. J.
Oct. 27, 28. Northern Baptist state convention, Newburgh, N. Y.
Oct. 27-29. Northern Baptist state convention, Galesburg, Ill.
Oct. 27-29. Northern Baptist state convention, Haverhill, Mass.
Oct. 30. Inaugural and educational conference, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Ia.
Nov. 19-22. National preaching mission, Chicago church federation of Federal Council Churches of Christ, Chicago.
Nov. 27, 28. State convention Baptist young people's union, Boulder, Colo.
Dec. 9-11. Biennial meeting, Federal council of churches, Asbury Park, N. J.
Dec. 10-12. First national conference on educational broadcasting, Hotel Mayflower, Washington, D. C.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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EDITORIAL

AVERY BRUNDAGE has returned to the United States. Amid controversy he took an American team to the Olympic games in Berlin. Amid more controversy he kept it there. And now he comes back, apparently determined to produce still more controversy. For Mr. Brundage returns as an ecstatic nazi admirer. Last week the American-German Bund (it was the Friends of New Germany until the intimacy of its relations with Dr. Göbbels' propaganda ministry was revealed) held a celebration in New York. The German ambassador was there. The mayor of Stuttgart was there. But neither the ambassador nor the mayor, despite their homage to Hitler, received such an ovation as Mr. Brundage. It is to nazi Germany, Mr. Brundage declared, that America must look to learn how to deal with its problems. "We, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out communism. We, too, must take steps to arrest the decline of patriotism." No wonder that after Mr. Brundage finished, his auditors, in transports of joy, sprang to their feet to sing "Deutschland über Alles" and the Horst-Wessel song! Our readers will recall that, when the question of American participation at Berlin was under discussion, The Christian Century opposed such participation because it believed that the nazis intended to use the Olympic games to spread nazi doctrines outside Germany. Mr. Brundage now proves that the suspicion was well-founded.

Mr. Brundage Comes Marching Home

Governor Smith Goes Republican

IT WAS rather a historic moment when Governor Alfred E. Smith, casting aside his democratic allegiance and forsaking his lifelong party associates, declared for Landon. Historic, but somewhat painful too, and more pathetic than either. Not that there is necessarily anything tragic about a switch from one party to another. Probably that ought to happen more often than it does. But the speech in which Governor Smith declared his intention was such a speech as forms a pathetic anticlimax to a great and notable career. There was a time when Governor Smith was intensely devoted to issues and was willing to risk his political fortunes and submerge his own personality, so far as such a colorful personality could be submerged, in the cause to which he had given his heart. One might disagree with him on all those issues, but one could not doubt his sincerity. But this was not the speech of one who is committed to a cause and convinced of the rightness of a program. It was the apologia of a disappointed man who, having been shunted to one side by his own party and ignored by the leader whom he had helped to elevate to power, feels impelled to protest that he does not deserve the treatment he has received. Asserting that he did not cherish any grudge, he proceeded to prove that he did. One must remember, as a mitigating circumstance, that the reply of the administration spokesman to Governor Smith's earlier criticism was almost purely personal. Listeners to that could make their own answer. He did not need to do it. Least of all did he need to do it at this time.

Does Japan Mean to Swallow China?

EVER since the Japanese formulated their notorious twenty-one demands upon China in 1915, one of the stock cartoons in western newspapers has shown a sturdy little soldier, garbed in the uniform of the Japanese army, engaged in swallowing a huge oyster labeled "China." But because of the disparity in size, many students of far eastern affairs have refused to believe that Japan really intends to occupy China as she has occupied Korea, Manchuria and parts of Mongolia. That she would like to establish some sort of economic suzerainty has been clear, but many westerners have felt that even the ambitious Japanese army staff would hesitate before trying to bite off any such huge geographical chunk as China. Unless recent reports from the orient are disproved, however, it now looks as though this physical capture of China is precisely what Japan has in view. American newspapers have recently printed a list of six demands which Japan is said to have served on China with the same insistence

on secrecy as in 1915. These demands include a provision for brigading Japanese with Chinese troops wherever the latter are operating against communists. This would mean placing Japanese troops in precisely those inaccessible parts of western and northwestern China where the Chinese government has been counting on making a final stand against any Japanese invasion. The demands would require Japanese advisers in *all* branches of the Chinese government, military and civilian. They would finally set China's northern provinces apart in an autonomous government. They would revise Chinese schoolbooks in accord with Japanese wishes. They would do away with Chinese tariff hindrances to Japanese imports. And they would give Japan a concession for an airline covering China. Needless to say, if China can be forced to accept any such series of demands, the day for complete absorption in the Japanese empire will not be far distant.

Tokyo's Military Clique Strikes Again

LAST February the whole world stood aghast when a portion of the Tokyo garrison tried to murder the members of the Japanese cabinet and seize power. The plot failed, although several of Japan's most valuable leaders were assassinated. Dire punishment was meted out to the junior officers who had been directly implicated in the affair, and seven senior generals, whose skirts were not entirely clean, had to apply for retirement. Since then, it has been generally believed in the west that a healthy reaction had set in in Japan. The army, having lost face, was supposed to be losing power as well; liberal government was supposed to be reviving, slowly to be sure, but steadily. To such western friends of Japan as have held this view, the presentation of the new army demands to the Tokyo cabinet on September 29 must have come as a stunning, and dismaying, surprise. For these demands, after calling for a consolidation of present civilian posts in the cabinet, specify that a general is to be appointed minister without portfolio and given blanket power to "formulate national policy." If the demands are not acceded to, the army clique resorts to the time-honored threat that the minister of war will resign, thus automatically breaking up the government. Such a series of demands, served when relations with China are so tense, puts an end to any idea that the army has been chastened by what happened last February. On the contrary, they prove that the Tokyo staff is more ambitious and more determined than ever. To have a single army man given power to fix the nation's policy is to set up a military dictatorship as openly as General Franco is setting one up in Spain.

General Franco Proclaimed Dictator of Spain

THE ARMY REBELLION against Spain's republican government at last has an official head. At Burgos, northern headquarters of the revolting troops, General Francisco Franco has been proclaimed dictator of Spain. General Franco has, of course, been the most conspicuous figure in the rebellion, as well as the nominal commander-in-chief of the insurgents. But the armies attacking Madrid have been operating so independently, and the elements making up the rebellion have been so many and so jealous of each other, that there have been predictions that they could never settle on a single head for the government they intended to establish. These predictions have now been disproved. General Franco has been given control of a government which has only to capture the capital in order to secure recognition from much of Europe. That requirement, while not yet met, seems likely to be fulfilled before long. At the moment, to be sure, the rebel advance seems to be halted. There are even government claims of important counter-advances in the vicinity of Toledo. Perhaps the specific nature of the charges made at Geneva by the Spanish foreign minister is causing Germany and Italy to stint, for the time being, their prodigal provision for the air warfare which has so far gained the rebel successes. Whatever the reason for the present lull, previous predictions still stand that Madrid will be captured, after which the civil war will pass into guerilla fighting. Then, likewise, will come the juncture when Great Britain and France will find themselves in an uncomfortable fix. For Britain will be called on to recognize another fascist dictatorship which, overshadowing Gibraltar, may still further dispute her power in the Mediterranean. And France will be asked to recognize the legality of a state of affairs in which she will be pinched between three surrounding fascist states.

The Fascist Pressure Grows in France

STERNLY as the fascist demonstrations in Paris were put down on October 4, the very fact that they took place at all showed how menacing the fascist threat to the Blum government is becoming. When the "popular front" government came into power five months ago one of its first acts was to pass legislation planned to render impotent the Croix de Feu and other lesser fascist bodies. At the time, the prestige of the new Blum government was so great that Colonel de la Rocque, fascist leader, accepted the dissolution of his armed forces almost without a murmur. Now, however, the fascist advance is once more moving across western Europe with a power which suggests the threat of some mountain landslide. Aided from Berlin and Rome, the fascists are pounding at the gates of Madrid. Their patrols face France along the line of the Pyrenees and from the captured waterfront of San Sebastian. And thus Colonel de la Rocque, calling out his old followers to break up radical meetings in Paris, shows that he believes the time has come when he can begin to measure strength with the republican forces inside France. In his brief term in office Premier Blum has faced about as difficult a problem as any head of a democratic government has confronted since the end of the war. Internally, he has been struggling with a financial crisis which has forced him at last to devalue

—that bugaboo of all middle class elements. Externally, he has had to contrive a foreign policy under which war was to be avoided at all costs despite the resurgence of fascist ambitions following Hitler's victory in the Rhineland and Mussolini's in Ethiopia. M. Blum has practically sacrificed a friendly government at Madrid in his efforts to keep his own government in office in Paris. Now the day is approaching swiftly when he must pay. After Madrid falls, the fascists will not delay long in rallying to bring down any leftist government in France.

Uncovering the Trail of The Labor Spy

EVERY public-spirited business man owes it to his own conscience to study with care the testimony now being taken before the senate civil liberties committee. Unfortunately, not much of this testimony is appearing in the press—we wonder why—and very few of the nation's daily newspapers seem to find in the proceedings material for editorial comment. Perhaps that is because the committee is not uncovering anything hitherto unknown. That is true; but knowledge of the sort of activities carried on by private detective agencies in breaking strikes and supplying labor spies has been limited to a very small proportion of the American people. Now this information is being officially brought together in a public document available for every citizen's reading. So far, the investigation has not only brought out the fact that some of these concerns deliberately provoke trouble in labor districts in order to bleed employers into paying for "protection," but it has also shown that even the best of such firms are deeply mixed up in activities which will scarcely bear the light of day. For example, inquiry into the affairs of the Pinkerton agency—which seems to be the best of the lot—disclosed that company as getting most of its income from planting spies everywhere, in the membership and even in officers' posts of unions, as well as in factories. The Pinkertons even checked up for the Pennsylvania railroad on the reading of that company's employes! Written reports were stopped as soon as the Pinkertons learned a senate investigation was impending, but the nature of the services rendered before that may be surmised from the payment made by the Fisher Body corporation for a "picnic" which lasted from August 4 to November 30, 1933! Incidentally, these private detective agencies do exceedingly well by themselves when it comes to "protecting" business. The present Mr. Pinkerton, for example, a 32-year old great grandson of the agency's founder, drew $129,500 for his services last year.

Communist Candidate Jailed as Vagrant

PERHAPS the chief of police of Terre Haute, Indiana, had childhood memories of the story of the Dutch boy who saved the lowlands by thrusting his fist into the hole in the dike. Earl Browder was to make a radio talk in Terre Haute. That was the crevice through which a flood of communism was about to inundate Indiana. The chief to the rescue! Browder to jail! It seems that the chief of police can jail anybody for twenty-four hours on a charge of vagrancy. The governor of the state could not do anything about it. An appeal to the President brought no results. The attorney-general of the United States said it was not within the jurisdiction of the federal department of justice. By that time the twenty-four hours were up and the jail-doors opened. The communist candidate for president was no longer a vagrant. Also, his radio time had passed. But a colleague with a copy of his speech had slipped into the broadcasting booth and locked the door behind him, and the speech was on the air before the police could arrest him too for vagrancy. It was, on the whole, an unexpected break and good publicity for the communists. The important thing is not that the chief of police exposed himself to deserved ridicule and contempt, but that he exposed the weakness and folly of the police system that he represented. What wonder that crime flourishes when the guardians of the law have so little respect for the law they are supposed to guard! Browder was guilty of no offense against the law, and the chief knew it. Being a communist is not a crime. The communist ticket, with Browder's name at the head of it, will be on all the official ballots in the presidential election next month. These ballots will be given out at every polling-place in Terre Haute—unless Terre Haute secedes from the United States before that time. It has already, so far as the chief's action represents it, declared its independence of the constitution and the bill of rights.

How Honest Is Advertising?

ADDRESSING a trade convention in Atlantic City recently, Dr. Logan Clendening, a widely known writer on medical topics, spoke disrespectfully of advertising, especially food advertising over the radio, as a hodge-podge of hokum foisted upon the public by commercial concerns which have an economic interest in misstating the facts. All of which sounds pretty plausible to those who are accustomed to hearing—as the price they must pay for radio entertainment—the ecstatic praise of various foods, medicines and cosmetics. But the Advertising Federation of America thinks differently. It replies, through the Editor and Publisher, trade journal, that advertisers are, in general, high-minded gentlemen with a meticulous regard for truth and a sincere sorrow for the occasional infractions of the code by the "small percentage" of misleading and exaggerated claims. It is true enough that this very federation launched the "truth-in-advertising" movement years ago and has done good service in discouraging some of the more unethical advertisers. Besides that, most reputable publishers exercise censorship over the advertisements that appear in their journals. But two other things are to be noted. First, radio has offered a new field in which subtler forms of misleading advertising are current. Second, when the new pure food and drug bill was pending in the last con-

gress, embodying the proposal to make it illegal to claim in advertising what it was already illegal to claim on the label of the package, it got no support from organized advertisers and very little from better business bureaus.

Mr. Landon and the Merit System

WHEN it comes to the question of public jobs, it is obvious that Governor Landon is caught between two fires. On the one hand, there is evidence that a demand for extension of the civil service makes a good campaign issue. It is on this that Mr. Roosevelt is being most effectively attacked; "Farleyism" is proving a more adhesive campaign epithet than "communism." A large section of the woman vote is apparently ready to fall to the leading champion of civil service reform. Moreover, Mr. Landon would honestly like to put an end to the present partisan rush for the public trough. But on the other hand, if the republicans win next month there will be plenty of the faithful who will expect reward. More than that, there will be hosts of party leaders who will insist that, without rewards for key workers, a repetition of the victory cannot be won four years later. So Mr. Landon says little of a specific nature about the civil service, but praises what he calls the "merit system" and points out that Mr. Roosevelt's recent act transferring present postmasters under the civil service will "freeze the tenure of the present job-holders." Aye, there's the rub! For any imposition of civil service protection at any given time is bound to "freeze the tenure" of the people who are in office at that time. With all his enthusiasm for a "merit system"—that vague term could even have been applied to Mr. Bryan's touching solicitude for deserving democrats—Mr. Landon obviously has no intention of allowing the present democratic office-holders to "freeze" on the payroll, while the democratic congress will not go far toward giving Mr. Landon a chance, under the guise of extending the civil service, to "freeze" republicans there.

Admiral Sims: Naval Nonconformist

ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS, who commanded the American naval forces in Europe during the world war, was generally in a fight of some sort. Most of the time it was the United States navy which he was fighting. Long before he had mounted above the lowly grade of lieutenant he had conceived a profound contempt for the wisdom and abilities of his superior officers. He said so, voluminously and vociferously. Moreover, he put it in writing. When he could get nowhere in proposing naval reforms to his immediate superiors, he appealed over their heads to the navy department at Washington. When the pundits of the navy department stuffed his recommendations away in the files where they would be sure to stay lost, he appealed over their heads to the President. He was always being threatened with court martial; he would have been thrown out of the navy long before the world war had it not been for a bit of combined luck and audacity. Finally ordered before the President to whom he had addressed his most insubordinate appeal, Sims found himself confronting Theodore Roosevelt. He dared to remind his commander-in-chief that the "round robin" episode of the Santiago campaign had set a precedent for insubordination; from that hour the navy-loving President took him to his heart! In the years before the war Sims's criticisms of the navy were mainly two: that it did not know how to build decent fighting ships, and that it could not shoot. The time came when even the navy department admitted he had been right on both counts. In the fourteen years of his retirement he kept right on battling. He insisted that the battleships which are being built today would be of no use in time of war. He told the President that the naval academy at Annapolis is a sad failure as an educational institution. In an article in the Atlantic Monthly last year he called the high ranking officers of the navy "notoriously inefficient," and savagely attacked the way in which the navy department is run. And as his life closed he was just putting himself at the head of a new drive for peace, insisting that no pursuit of profits or any fantasy of "national honor" should be allowed to drag the nation into war.

The Future of the TVA

MYSTERY surrounds the outcome of the "power pool" conference which recently met in Washington for two days. All that the nation has been told is that the President invited the directors of the Tennessee Valley authority to confer with leaders of privately owned utility companies regarding some plan for tying up public and private power systems in the TVA region; that the discussions continued for two days in what was said to be a friendly atmosphere; that adjournment came with no formal agreement signed but with prospects for an eventual agreement declared to be better than good. But whether the White House and the TVA directorate have set any time limit within which the power companies must accept the government's proposals is not known. If no such limit has been set, there is reason to fear that the power companies may be prolonging negotiations until after election day, hoping that a republican victory will clear the way for the destruction of the whole TVA enterprise.

President Roosevelt's reasons for bringing forward his "power pool" proposal at the present juncture are clear. When the TVA was first established it took over, as a going concern, the hydroelectric installation at Muscle Shoals. With power to dispose of, it had but one customer in a geographical position to buy, the Alabama Power company, a subsidiary of the vast Commonwealth and Southern corporation, a Morgan holding company. Naturally, this customer was able to drive a hard bargain, and did so. The essence of that bargain was that TVA was to confine its direct

sales to the region in Alabama around Muscle Shoals and to northern Mississippi. Elsewhere the Commonwealth and Southern companies were to have a free field, buying such power as they desired from the TVA at Muscle Shoals and distributing it at such rates as they themselves set. This contract expires next month.

Neither side professes to have been satisfied with the bargain made a little more than two years ago. Officials of the TVA assert that the power companies have not kept their promises not to invade territory reserved for TVA development; the power companies have retaliated with national propaganda to the general effect that the TVA was developing in such a manner as to disclose the intention of the government to destroy all private power utilities. In the meantime, however, the TVA has completed the Norris dam, brought the Wheeler dam close to completion, started work on most of the other contemplated dams along the Tennessee river and its tributaries, and thus is now in a position not only to distribute vastly more power but also to distribute it generally throughout the seven states which make up the TVA region. At the same time, the power companies have so far been able to block action, by obtaining court injunctions, in every town which has voted to build plants to distribute TVA power, and in the large cities which have voted to buy up existing plants for the same purpose.

Merely to extend the existing contract between the TVA and the power interests, therefore, would be to continue a state of warfare which has reached a virtual stalemate in the courts. And even if the government were to win legal assent to its proposal to make PWA funds available for communities wishing to buy or build their own distribution systems for TVA power—a hazardous supposition—the private power companies could nevertheless continue to hamstring the TVA in the courts almost indefinitely. Accordingly, President Roosevelt has come forward proposing a "power pool," into which all the power interests, public and private, in the TVA region shall enter. Under the provisions of this pool, the government would agree to provide no power distribution facilities duplicating those already in existence, while the private companies would agree to drop their obstructive tactics and to retail the power purchased from the TVA at the same rates as obtain in the territory where the TVA is itself the retail distributor.

One of the strangest aspects of the presidential campaign to date has been the silence on both sides regarding the TVA. One would think that if Mr. Roosevelt were desirous of convincing independent voters that he is a genuine progressive, and not merely the unstable improvisor his critics allege, he would point with pride to the development of the TVA and its long-range significance in dealing with the social problems of the power age. And one would think that if Governor Landon were desirous of convincing that same independent vote that he is not the economic royalist which his opponents allege, he would state clearly his position with regard to this most hotly debated federal enterprise, either showing why this is the sort of approach which he approves to the obvious problems of a needy section or why he opposes this and proposes something different. Yet here we stand, less than a month from the election, and neither candidate has peeped on this tremendously important domestic issue!

Most of the issues in debate between the candidates concern what are admittedly temporary expedients for dealing with extraordinary emergencies. Almost alone the TVA represents a long-range, permanent effort by the government to "touch and give life to all forms of human concerns"—to quote the President's TVA message to congress—in what has been a backward portion of the nation. Is the campaign to close with the candidates still quarreling about temporary measures, despite one of the most spectacular business upswings the country has ever witnessed, and saying nothing about the one enterprise which is designed to help fix the character of American life, whether in good times or in bad, for all the years to come?

Several months ago the president of the conservative but authoritative economic research organization, the Brookings institution, published an article in Fortune magazine entitled, "The Trouble with Capitalism Is Capitalists." Quickly he followed this with a book, "Income and Economic Progress in the United States." In both, Dr. Moulton put forward the same claim, namely, that if the capitalistic business interests would stop trying to extract the largest possible profit from their operations and would concentrate for awhile on lowering prices (as improved techniques make it possible to do), they would find demand for their wares so increased that production capacities would soon be used to their maximum, which would in turn so increase the general purchasing power (crux of the capitalistic dilemma) that general prosperity would follow. This, every American should note, is the prescription of the ranking *capitalistic* economist for the healing of the ills of American *capitalism*. There is no suspicion of socialism attached to it. And as matters now stand, the TVA represents the one important test being made of the validity of the Brookings institution thesis!

In essentials, this thing which Dr. Moulton tells American capitalists must be done if capitalism is to be made to work successfully is just what the TVA has been doing for two years, and is now ready to do on an expanding scale. And as Director Lilienthal pointed out in these pages last week, in an article whose significance cannot be exaggerated, so far the TVA results support the Brookings institution contention up to the hilt! For not only has the TVA, by making power available at cheap rates, produced a vastly expanded demand for this basic commodity of modern life, but this increased demand has given even the private power companies—which had been forced by the TVA example to reduce their prices drastically—a remarkable increase in their gross earnings. Were the water squeezed out of the private companies' capitalization, what has already happened in the TVA region indicates that they could provide power as cheaply as the TVA and still make money!

No one knows what American life would be like fifty years from now if this basic commodity of the machine age, power, should be made available to all

our people in such abundance that every home and every community could use all it wanted in any way it wanted. Certainly an immense amount of present drudgery would be done away, and there is reason to believe that under such circumstances the hitherto baffling machine could be made the servant providing a general standard of life above that now known by the millions of our families which live only a little above a subsistence level. It is immensely important for the national future, therefore, that the TVA, which is just reaching the point at which its relevance for this future can be fully established, should not be destroyed or hamstrung. Both presidential candidates owe it to the nation to declare at once and unequivocally where they stand on the TVA and its future.

In the face of the sensational rise in production and gross earnings of the Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama power companies, the bitter hatred with which capitalistic interests are still fighting the TVA is indicative only of the hopelessness of looking to the "free enterprise" of such interests to solve the nation's long-range problems. The power pool now offered by the government is a guarantee against that confiscation or destruction which has been the alleged threat causing these interests to fight so savagely; the experience of the companies under the expiring contract is proof that their honest capital interests have nothing to fear. Yet these utility interests fight blindly on. One is reminded of the days in which a slave-holding capitalism in the south actually hanged men for the "crime" of possessing a copy of the Carolinian Helper's "Impending Crisis," with its proof that the antebellum plantation system was bleeding the south to death! The vested interests of today's capitalism are changed—in this case they are the watered common stocks of the holding companies—but the economic bourbonism remains the same. Truly, Dr. Moulton knows what he is talking about: "The trouble with capitalism is capitalists."

Confronted by such blind and implacable hatred for this economic experiment of permanent social importance, what do the presidential candidates purpose with regard to the TVA? Because he has been responsible for its inception, there can be little doubt that President Roosevelt means, if reelected, to provide the enterprise with every possible encouragement. His present readiness to negotiate a power pool with the private utility interests is no sign of readiness to retreat; it merely means that he wants the experiment to go forward in as cooperative and friendly an atmosphere as possible. Should the private interests finally reject the proposal, there is every reason to believe that a new Roosevelt administration would forge straight ahead along the general lines which the TVA has followed from the beginning. In other words, any question as to what Mr. Roosevelt intends to do about the TVA is largely rhetorical.

But such a question when addressed to Governor Landon is by no means rhetorical. The republican candidate not only has failed to commit himself on this matter; he has refused to do so under circumstances which give more than a little ground for fear that he contemplates, if elected, a definite retrograde step in the Tennessee valley. As a candidate for the republican nomination Governor Landon was asked by a newspaper syndicate what he would do about the TVA. Other candidates, confronted with the same question, answered. Governor Landon picked that out as one of the questions in the list which he declined to answer.

At the present moment, it is the obvious hope of the private power interests to prolong their negotiations with the TVA until after election day. If Governor Landon is elected, they may then be expected to refuse to negotiate further. For they expect that if a republican administration comes into the White House in January, it will sell the whole TVA to the private power interests for what it will bring and thus throw that region back into the "free enterprise" days when the companies were charging prices from 23 to 37 per cent above the present rates, and the region itself was being left to its fate as one of the most notoriously neglected sections of the country. Governor Landon should tell the voters whether the expectations of the private utility interests are well-founded. If destruction of the TVA is *not* what he has in mind, as a honest candidate let him say so.

Cardinal Pacelli's Vacation

AMERICA is honored by the visit of Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state, who sailed from Naples a few days ago and who will have arrived in New York before these words of welcome can be printed. The tardiness of the greeting, though regrettable, was unavoidable. The report was that the cardinal was going to Switzerland for a rest and, when New York and Washington were suddenly substituted for Switzerland as the scene of his vacation, the Vatican guarded the secret of his changed destination so successfully that even the most inquisitive newspaper correspondents on the ground did not know of his embarcation for America until the day it happened. His traveling companion on the voyage is the new Italian ambassador to the United States, Signor Fulvio Suvich.

The Vatican spokesmen insist that Cardinal Pacelli's journey has no other purpose than a vacation. On that hypothesis, he is a welcome guest. He is an eminent scholar and an even more eminent churchman, second only to the pope in rank as a dignitary in the Roman Catholic church and second to no one in the possibility of his succession to the see of Rome.

It is true that there has been some mention of other objectives that may be combined with the cardinal's holiday. Mr. Arnaldo Cortesi, Rome correspondent of the New York Times, whose usual sources of information in regard to the Vatican are very close to the source from which events flow, reports the free circulation of rumors in vatical circles to the effect that Cardinal Pacelli may be charged with one, two or all of three missions of sufficient moment to reduce the holiday aspect of his journey to a place of comparative insignificance in the total program.

The least important of these possible missions—and it should be borne in mind that these are only rumors and hypotheses—is to bring to President Roosevelt the assurance that Father Coughlin's anti-administration pronouncements, and especially his recent vituperative utterances against the President himself, do not represent the views of the Vatican. If the cardinal calls on the President, as he properly may and probably will, it would be very natural for him to express some such sentiment. Such a statement would represent what everyone must know is the truth. For the pope to send the highest ranking official of his court, the most eminent of all the cardinals, all the way across the ocean to deliver this message would be firing a very large gun to kill a very small bird. There are easier and less dramatic ways of accomplishing the same result. Still, if and when the cardinal calls on the President he may very naturally mention the matter.

The second possible mission is phrased in these words: "It is thought that Cardinal Pacelli wishes to invite the Washington government to establish formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican and accept a papal nuncio instead of the unofficial apostolic delegation in Washington." This requires more consideration. In the first place, it should be remarked that there is no question of substituting an official for an unofficial diplomatic mission from the state of Vatican City to the government of the United States. The present apostolic delegate in Washington is not commissioned to the government, either officially or unofficially. He is the pope's official and personal representative to the Roman Catholic church in the United States. If there is anything substantial behind this rumor, therefore, it has to do not with altering the form of the diplomatic relations between the pope and the American government, but with establishing such relations where none now exist.

Quoting again from Mr. Cortesi's probably inspired statement in regard to the reception of a papal nuncio in Washington and the sending of an American embassy to the papal court: "The Vatican feels that American Catholics have grown sufficiently numerous and important to justify such a step. This action, moreover, is ardently desired because it would constitute a good precedent for placing the Holy See's relations with Great Britain on a similar footing. Britain has at present a legation at the Holy See, but the Vatican has no diplomatic representative in London. While the Vatican fully realizes that a proposal to strengthen (sic) its diplomatic relations with the American government will meet with considerable opposition in some American quarters, it nevertheless considers that the right moment has arrived to broach the subject."

It might have been expected that such a proposal would be made. Why the present should be deemed exactly the "right moment" for it, is obscure. Certainly the month before election would be the worst time in the world for the introduction of such a controversial topic if there were any expectation of getting prompt action upon it. The only color of justification for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican is that, since the restoration of temporal sovereignty in 1929, the pope has been a king, absolute monarch of a sovereign state. But there are many sovereign states with which the government of the United States does not have diplomatic relations. A dozen or more tiny principalities could be mentioned which come in this class. As a sovereign state, viewed purely in its secular relations—and the American government cannot regard it in any other light without abandoning its own principles—Vatican City is in the class with the sovereign and independent states of San Marino, with 38 square miles of territory and 13,000 people, and Monaco, with 8 square miles and 25,000 people, except that the pope's sovereign state is much smaller, with one-sixth of one square mile and about 1,000 inhabitants.

As a sovereign state, therefore, in every respect that concerns its relations with a government which is constitutionally committed to the principle of giving equal treatment to all religions, Vatican City is completely negligible. Its only significance is that it gives a special status and dignity to the head of a religion, who is the sovereign of that state. To Catholics, this is naturally a matter of some gratification. To non-Catholics, it is and must ever be the symbol of a pretension which they deny and resent. It is not, under ordinary circumstances, necessary that non-Catholics should let it worry them excessively, least of all in America. Here we are living together as best we can, on increasingly friendly terms, with such pragmatic adjustments as are possible between those who claim that, in an ideal society, their church would have preferential treatment by the government but who realize that nothing of the sort is possible under present conditions, and those who believe that the most ideal society is one in which no church has preferential treatment. In that endeavor to allay mutual fears, abate antipathies and adjust differences, we are making some progress, for which the Lord be praised.

And now comes a suggestion that "American Catholics have grown sufficiently numerous and important" to justify a demand for a special recognition by the government, of a sort that no other church would ever dream of asking, to increase their power and prestige and enable them to become still more numerous and important. It is not pretended that the state of Vatican City, considered as a sovereign state, is important enough to merit diplomatic recognition. It is only the numbers and importance of American Catholics that is cited. And upon that, truly, the whole proposal rests.

Just how powerful and numerous must any religious group in this country become to make it worth while to gratify it by abandoning the principle of the equal treatment of all religions by the American government? Pending an answer to that question—if there is an answer—we beg to suggest, especially to American Catholics, that if they are as deeply interested as we know many of them are in the promotion of mutual good will, in removing anti-Catholic prejudice, and in securing perfectly fair treatment for Catholics wherever they think they are not now getting it, they can do their own cause no better service than by repudiating any proposal that may be advanced to give their church

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a special status in the eyes of the American government by the exchange of diplomatic representatives.

The other project that is mentioned as constituting a motive for Cardinal Pacelli's visit to America is the enlistment of the President and the government of the United States in the pope's crusade against communism. It implies no predilection for communism to say that this proposal has no more merit than the other. We have our own problem in regard to communism, but we are not going to solve it by making alliance with the pope, either formally or informally, for its eradication throughout the world. Naturally the American government is opposed to communism, which proposes to change the form of the government and the whole social structure. Naturally the vast majority of the American people are opposed to it. But the grounds and methods of their opposition are not those which are reflected in the pope's anti-communist pronouncements. For him, communism is a threat to religious faith and to the power and prestige of the church. For the American people, it is an attack upon a political and social system which is dear to them, but which they do not observe is particularly dear to the pope.

The American system of free and democratic government is threatened by dangers of which communism is not the most menacing. Those dangers are not to be withstood by joining hands with any ally who sees communism as a peril but who is complacent toward fascism and cooperative with it.

The rumors about these three possible missions of the papal secretary of state—Coughlin, a nuncio and communism—may be nothing but thin air. That being the case, the cardinal is a welcome guest. Everyone should join in wishing for our distinguished visitor a thoroughly enjoyable vacation, uninterrupted by the cares of office and the perplexities of state. The autumn colors along the Hudson should be at their best before he leaves.

The Shifting Horizon

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The man of forty is content to accept the words of scripture: "The days of our years are threescore years and ten." At fifty he feels a little as though that estimate were too low. "Seventy, indeed!" he says. "Why, look at our city! The seventies are young and sprightly; and besides, the length of life is not what it was when the Psalmist sang." At sixty he quite definitely shifts the horizon to seventy-five; at seventy he begins to think of all the valiant four-score men whose labor is not at all sorrow. At eighty he recalls the many friends of his who have reached ninety. At ninety he says, "Centenarians are by no means uncommon in these days. There is Antiquius, who rides a bicycle—or is it a tricycle?—at a hundred!"

So the horizon recedes and man accommodates himself by degrees to his years. Thus he "slows down for the junction."

This is as it should be. Man ought to live as long as he can. He ought not to seek discharge before his time comes. There is a hymn—a fine hymn, too—which ends in an aspiration which is for most of us unreal:

> O Lord of hosts, the waves divide
> And land us all in heaven.

That is an aspiration neither normal nor even healthy. We ought to live out our days with all the courage that we can command. And if we reach ninety we ought to take a deep breath and strike out for the hundred.

But the chief virtue here, as in so many other concerns, is honesty. The cardinal vice is make-believe. When a man reaches seventy he should not pretend, either to himself, or others that he is still forty. If he attains to four-score let him give thanks and not pretend that he is "as young as ever, my boy."

The old man who is frankly old is a charming being. Youth takes pleasure in him because he is different. But the old man who pretends to be young embarrasses youth, who does not know where to place him. Such a man will not be left behind on the long day's walk, and he cannot keep pace with the others. What is to be done with him?

Many an office could tell tales of old men who will not make the change-over to age. They are a terrible nuisance. When they come down, jobs have to be found for them; they must be humored; and when they go home, preferably at an early hour, a sigh of relief sweeps from desk to desk. How much wiser such a man would be if he made no pretense, and being now of an age to slow down, he did slow down and left some of his task to others.

"As young as ever, my boy!" They smile at the moment, but afterwards they say one to another, "Poor old man! When will he face facts?"

The horizon may be shifted many times, but at last it must be reached. The supreme question—whether or not it is a near horizon with other illimitable ranges lying beyond—is often put aside in these days. But you will agree, sir, that the wise man will not deceive himself by using paraphrases for death. He will live as one who hopes that this may be far away, but who takes it into account without fear, and at the same time believes that beyond the end there is a new beginning. Sir Walter Raleigh's verses, "Found in his Bible in the Gate-House at Westminster," give the sum of the whole matter. They may have been written on the night before his death. In any case they were written when he could no longer shift the horizon:

> Even such is time, that takes in trust
> Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
> And pays us out with age and dust;
> Who in the dark and silent grave,
> When we have wandered all our ways,
> Shuts up the story of our days;
> But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
> My God shall raise me up, I trust.

Honestly and bravely spoken!

Yours in a serious mood,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

A California Fascist Retreats

By Don M. Chase

A WOULD-BE DICTATOR has packed his bag and departed from the scene of the attempted fascist *putsch* in the "salad bowl" of the nation, at Salinas, California. Colonel Henry Sanborn, professional red-baiter, former chaplain, reserve army officer, and publisher of the American Citizen, a fear-mongering sheet distributed free on San Francisco doorsteps, was nominated by forces behind the scenes to be dictator of all "law enforcement" agencies in three counties. He sat in the seat of power for a few days, but he is gone now, and the story is instructive to those who care about liberty in America.

The story of the California lettuce strike is the familiar one of 3,500 workers striking for preferential hiring of union members, and the determination of grower-shippers to break the strike with outside labor and the police power. The union was virtually locked out, the employers refusing to continue a previous working agreement, declaring that after September 3 working conditions would be determined exclusively by the employers. A strike was called which completely tied up the harvest. Even the Filipinos, who were not in the union, voted not to work.

How the Strike Developed

The strikers were mostly residents of the area, and appear to have been primarily concerned with protecting their jobs. The union is sponsored by the state federation of labor, and appears to be free from communist leadership.

Peaceful picketing ensued during the first ten days of the strike, and no attempt was made to pack lettuce. One ranch signed up with the union, and encountered strange difficulties in getting crates, ice and cars. Finally the bank foreclosed and the ranch capitulated and broke off with the union. Stockades were built around the packing sheds by white-collar labor, none other being available, and on September 15 lettuce began to move. Trucks were convoyed by carloads of state police and deputy sheriffs armed with tear and nauseating gas throwers. Occasionally officers would fire a gas bomb at the strikers who lined the sidewalks of the streets through which the trucks were driven. One street was cleared by the police using gas bombs.

Next day the president of the Associated Farmers, a state-wide organization of big farmers, drove a truck under heavy guard down the main street of Salinas, in violation of an ordinance forbidding truck traffic. When the lettuce truck was forced to stop by a car ahead pausing for a traffic light, the hundreds of strikers lining the sidewalks held a "Boston tea party" of their own and unloaded the truck in unceremonious fashion. The driver was pulled down from his truck and beaten before the police and deputies could clear the street with their gas, clubs and guns. Fleeing people were pursued and beaten; one or two were injured by gunfire. The strikers who sought refuge in and around the tiny Labor temple were hemmed in by the forces of "law and order" and saturated with gas.

Trying to Involve the Legion

The sheriff summoned the American Legion by a previously arranged emergency call, but when the men found what was expected of them some of them are said to have torn up their membership cards. In any event the call was rescinded with the public explanation that the legion was divided in its sympathies. However, the sheriff did issue another order summoning every able-bodied man in the county to report to the armory to be deputized and to hold himself in readiness for duty. About 2,000 men are said to have been deputized, including high school students, some of whom were armed and put on the streets. Other students were asked to make clubs for the sheriff in the high school wood-working shop.

At this stage in the situation there began to appear in the press the name of Colonel Sanborn as "coordinator of all law enforcement agencies of Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito counties." The colonel began to issue statements over the signatures of the peace officers. It was apparently he who ordered the illegal entry and search of the dwelling of a local labor leader, absent at the state convention of the federation of labor. Sanborn admitted that literature seized in the raid was in his possession, and asserted it might be used in a criminal syndicalism action against the labor official. It was apparently Sanborn who ordered a raid on the union hall in search of weapons. It was the local sheriff, possibly acting on Sanborn's advice, who illegally raided the room of reporter Bailey of the San Francisco Chronicle. One of the city police threatened bodily injury to the reporter, and repeated reports that his lynching had been planned. The refusal of police protection for this reporter caused his editor, who was also in Salinas, to order him out of town by airplane.

A Manufactured Red Scare

In the meantime Sanborn was finding reds on every hand and assuring Salinas that it had barely been saved from red revolution by his timely assistance. Warning flags of the customary color, placed by the highway department to indicate road repairs, were seen by excitable patriots as mobilization signals put out by communists. Even the governor fell into this ludicrous error in a public statement.

It was significant that the "law enforcement agencies," the employers and Colonel Sanborn all had their offices on the same floor of the small Hotel Jeffrey, reputedly behind a barricade.

Two factors combined to defeat the plan of Sanborn and his backers to crush a revolution and save Salinas and California. One was that the strikers were well advised, and after the one street fight stayed off the streets for several days and were as docile as citizens

are expected to be. It is hard to put down a revolution which declines to put in an appearance. The other factor was that Sanborn and the "law and order" people made a bad impression on the newspapermen and gained the enmity of the press. Reporters were gassed and beaten, and their cameras smashed. Then, too, Sanborn by his arrogant style antagonized the press men.

Two influential San Francisco dailies, the Chronicle and the News, improving somewhat on their usual manner of strike reporting, were very fair to the strikers, both in news and editorial columns. The Chronicle especially has repeatedly denounced the fascist domination of the government of Salinas and Monterey county by employers' interests. Other newspapers in the counties affected began to hammer the authorities for surrendering their powers to Sanborn. A mass meeting of eight hundred Salinas citizens passed resolutions condemning the manner in which the whole matter had been handled. The officials began to hedge, denying they had surrendered any authority, claiming that Sanborn had only advisory power, and saying, "He must have been appointed while I was out of the room."

Under this criticism Colonel Sanborn left Salinas, to the considerable relief of the authorities, who found it hadn't been such a bright idea after all. Someone had sold them a gold brick.

Why the Fascists Failed

A committee representing growers and labor has met with the governor, with little result. It is difficult to say what will be the outcome of the strike, but it is safe to say the facist effort to take over the government of Salinas has failed. In fact, it has been such a boomerang that in the future the authorities are not likely to put all their eggs in the employers' basket.

There will undoubtedly be a tendency to belittle the Sanborn affair as a comic interlude. In my opinion it failed to become a successful assault upon constituted authority and liberty in this state *only* because of the two fortunate factors mentioned: the workers maintained an unprovocative calm, and the press failed to give the colonel the sort of blind support he evidently expected. Attorney Aram of the state federation of labor may be overstating the case very little when he declares:

"It [the fascist drive] was directed from outside the affected zone of Monterey county. It embraced all civil government, including the courts. The state militia and the highway patrol are directed by a civilian local committee acting as the head of a provisional dictatorship. It indicates long preparation, prior rehearsal, and the work of men who understand public psychology, as the average citizen is not conscious that it has happened. . . . In semi-agricultural and semi-industrial communities it could crush any strike, however peaceful."

The only hope of preventing such illegal seizures of power by the employing interests in future is an aroused public which will organize peaceful but vigorous resistance to fascism. The churches cannot stand apart from the struggle to preserve democracy and liberty without losing more of what integrity we still have. In one community in the affected area, where there are half a dozen Protestant ministers, only one dared or cared to speak out. The rest were either in favor of the fascist program or afraid to oppose it. This sort of thing is spiritual suicide for the church.

Is It Fair to the American Community?

By Joseph Ernest McAfee

DISCUSSION of the problem presented by the presence in American society of large groups which determinedly remain impervious to the common cultural genius, should be pressed until principles, and not merely segregated instances of their violation, are thrust to the fore. This I understand to be the objective of The Christian Century's editorials on the Jewish problem and the recent one on "Tolerance and Democracy" (issue of September 23). Certainly this purpose was definitive in my own brief contribution. The citing of a particular group practicing such violation is incidental and only illustrative. All are sinners, of whatever name and under whatever guise, who seek to build up self-contained hereditary cults to form permanent and impervious minorities in our one American community. The only justification for instancing the Jew is that certain aspects of Jewish cultural practice present an example of violation. The most objectionable sanction to employ in this segregation is religion, especially in view of the determined stand which American ideals and traditions take for the preservation of individual religious liberty.

There are numerous small groups which must pass under the same judgment. Few of them carry the attempt to solidify their membership in a status alien to the common life of the community, and the few who go to this extreme are so small and exert so slight an influence upon the community life as to be almost negligible.

Roman Segregation

There is, however, one other large and highly influential group which matches Jewry in this particular. I refer to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which was also instanced in The Christian Century's recent editorial. It employs with powerful effect the religious sanction. Besides threatening serious consequences upon those who throw off the religious bonds, the hierarchy, as the editorial suggests, seeks to establish hereditary barriers against the disintegration of its cult. In this it succeeds in a high degree. Whether its measures are so

drastic or so successful in their anti-social effect, as are those prevailing in Jewry, need not be discussed. But it employs with potency another sanction which the Jew has not so systematically nor so effectively employed, namely, the use of property as a buttress of its cultural segregation.

In the Romanist system marriage is a sacrament of the church. Rigorous measures are employed to control it and its social effects. So far as possible, marriages of Catholic youth are confined to the Catholic group. The contracting parties in each marriage are solemnly pledged to train their children in the doctrines and practices of the Romanist order. When consent is granted to one party in the Romanist fold to contract a marriage outside of the fold, it is invariably with the proviso that the children shall be reared in the Roman faith. Special dispensations of the papacy have been given, under which only the children of the sex of the Romanist member of the wedded pair shall be so trained, but even this concession is made only to royalty, or other social dignitaries, and then under protest.

Parochial Schools

Further to cement this hold of the hierarchy upon its group, the Catholic church is steadily building up a system of schools, paralleling from top to bottom the American system of education. This has already reached the proportions of a major schism in our community life. The movement began with elementary schools, which have been extensively developed. It has now advanced to the creation of numerous secondary schools, and in higher education several of our most imposing universities are under hierarchic domination. Not even Catholic lay boards of trustees are permitted definitive control. Who among the general American public are ever permitted to see the balance sheet or a detailed financial statement of the affairs of the Roman Catholic universities, comparable to those which are regularly issued by the boards of trustees of our other endowed universities and colleges?

In the whole broad range of finance, and in the acquisition and holding of property, the Roman Catholic church in this country is rapidly advancing in the same direction which has carried the hierarchy to the point in older countries where misery and confusion have plagued both the church and the afflicted community. When the United States took over the government of the Philippines, following the Spanish war, the property of the islands was found, after centuries of Romanist sway over the religious life of the land, to have been so largely concentrated under the ownership and control of the church that no feasible economic program for the islands was possible. Mr. Taft, the then governor general, was compelled to travel half way around the world and enter into negotiations with the pope and his court in Rome, to arrange for the recapture of the property for the Philippine community. The transaction cost millions of money and much tedious negotiation before a *modus vivendi* could be effected.

It would be highly disconcerting, to say the least, for some American ambassador in some coming generation to resort to Rome to arrange for the return of property in this country which will have passed into the possession of the church by the free gift of the American community through our system of exempting from taxation property owned and controlled by religious bodies! The Roman Catholic hierarchy is a peculiarly efficient instrument for the pyramiding of property holdings, especially under our taxation usages. And its holdings have already mounted to a point where its and other churches' exemptions embarrass numbers of American communities. Bankruptcy awaits some of these communities unless some relief is soon contrived.

Cost of Tax Exemptions

With not only the Philippine experience before us, but the tragic happenings in Mexico and Spain shocking the whole world, we certainly have warning enough. In both Spain and Mexico the tragedy has been greatly aggravated by popular resentment over the immense property interests of the church. The Roman hierarchic system lends itself everywhere to this steady accumulation of wealth, when favors are shown the church in the system of taxation. Property accumulates as mass is added to mass upon a rolling snowball. Once started on its descent down the mountainside, it gains both bulk and momentum until it becomes an avalanche, carrying destruction and devastation in its wake, and it winds up in the final catastrophe in the valley at the bottom of the declivity.

It is not necessary to charge any individuals or any system with malignity in the operation of these natural laws. The system works that way. This must be the dispassionate judgment of every unprejudiced observer and student of history. The conditions which these impervious groups inevitably precipitate are quite as much the concern of the adherents of these cults as those who look on from the outside. Devotion to American ideals and principles on the part of all must be presupposed, and when adherents of these systems come to realize the jeopardy to those ideals and principles which their religious-hereditary cults constitute, their zeal to correct the evils inherent in them should be even more importunate than can be that of any other Americans.

Three Proposals

The situation prompts three proposals which all good Americans, both in and out of these groups, should welcome:

1. To resist all efforts to secure support of public funds for parochial or other schools under control of religious organizations. This support the Roman Catholic hierarchy sought zealously to secure in the state of Ohio recently. Happily for the church as well as for the community the attempt failed. Roman Catholic laymen, as well as all other citizens, should resist every attempt to renew such efforts anywhere in the country.

2. To restudy the whole tax-exemption program, and give serious consideration to proposals to put all church property on the tax list. Religious organizations which have not the vitality to survive under the necessity of paying their share of the costs of government in the common protection of property, can scarcely

establish claims to survival. The persistent and exacting demands of the tax-collector will be an effective prevention of the pyramiding of property values in the control of hierarchies, who otherwise have only to sit by and allow time to endow them with wealth with its seductive and degenerative influences.

3. To encourage and join in the free and dispassionate discussion of the problems which the presence and growth of self-contained groups in our society precipitate. We should be done with the flinging of charges of anti-semitism and religious prejudice against those who dare lift a voice in such discussion. These questions touching vitally the future of our American democracy are concerns of all of us, and all should bear their part in pressing the discussion to intelligent and socially valid conclusions.

Where Can Consumers Get the Facts?

By T. Swann Harding

EACH TIME that The Christian Century has published an article of mine which contained certain facts of consumer value, especially those "naming names," letters of inquiry have reached me asking: "Where can I secure more information of this kind?" The present article will endeavor briefly to answer that query.

The most reliable kind of consumer information available in this country is governmental in origin. It must be said at the outset, however, that the state governments contribute relatively little of this. While certain states like North Dakota, Kentucky, New York, Pennsylvania, Maine, New Hampshire, and now Louisiana, deserve no little commendation, state governments can in general be too easily cowed by local interests to be very aggressive about publishing revealing information on manufactured products.

Maine has its cosmetics law and has, in connection therewith, published some information of value. The little publication called Health, issued by the New Hampshire state board of health, is fearless and useful. Louisiana now has on its statute books a state food, drug, cosmetics and advertising act patterned closely after the federal bill (Copeland bill) which again failed of passage at the last session of congress.

Offered by the Government

The federal government does, however, publish here and there, and often incidental to other objectives, no little accurate information of considerable consumer value. The problem is to get it. Even the severest critics of our political government have nothing but praise for the reliability of the information that comes from the scientific bureaus of the federal government. The federal government is less easily cowed than state governments by individual sectional interests.. Most of the consumer information it develops must usually stand legal tests and must therefore be prepared with infinite care. It also is far less likely to be biased, or to give out prejudiced information, than any private agency you may care to name.

Outstanding among governmental agencies in Washington which provide consumer-valuable facts are the Food and Drug administration, the Federal Trade commission and the Bureau of Home Economics. Each agency has its own specific field and only the first gives immediate and direct aid to the consumer, meanwhile naming names. The Federal Trade commission does not hesitate to name names, of course, but it was organized to promote fair competition among producers, not directly to give consumer aid.

Food and Drugs

The Food and Drug administration actually enforces six different laws for the protection of consumers, the most important being the food and drugs act. The nature of its work compels it to examine thousands of food and drug products, and some cosmetics, chemically. Its "Notices of Judgment," issued irregularly as needed, and giving résumés of its terminated cases, are filled with useful information about fraudulent or injurious products. Bound volumes of these may be found in public libraries or you may ask that your name be put on its mailing list.

In connection with its so far ineffectual efforts to secure a better food and drugs act the administration has published, or makes available in mimeographed form, a number of articles showing the need for a better law and giving very specific information. The published hearings on the Copeland bill before congressional committees and the synopses of the bill are also of value.

The Food and Drug administration assists the Postoffice department in its efforts to deny the mails to medicinal frauds and fake therapeutic contraptions. The Journal of the American Medical Association publishes abstracts of these fraud actions from time to time. Press releases are supplied but newspapers naturally use them rarely. Consumers interested in specific products against which fraud orders have been issued can secure complete information by addressing the Postoffice department in Washington.

False Advertising

The Postoffice department, unlike the Food and Drug administration in the case of its "Notices of Judgment," does not maintain a mailing list. The press releases of the Federal Trade commission are, however, of great interest to consumers and some of them have managed to get on its mailing list. These releases cite false advertising, naming the product and detailing the falsity, but they are rarely used by newspapers

which are generally themselves publishing some of the false advertisements cited.

Cease-and-Desist Orders

The Federal Trade commission was established to weed unfair methods of competition out of commerce, not primarily to aid consumers. In the course of its work, however, it has built up a body of legal precedent which enables it to construe false advertising as a form of unfair competition. Since, however, it can merely issue cease-and-desist orders, and must resort to the courts to make them mandatory if defied, its procedure is less efficacious than the Food and Drug administration's criminal prosecutions. The Federal Trade commission depends heavily upon the laboratories and the experienced staff of the Food and Drug administration in its work. Hearings of manufacturers cited to appear and show cause why a cease-and-desist order should not be issued are open to the public and are well worth attending. Recently the Postoffice department has also made its fraud-order hearings public; these were held privately hitherto.

Under the present administration the Federal Trade commission now makes public the manufacturer's name and the nature of his false advertising statements when it makes a citation against false advertising. Somewhat earlier, manufacturers who signed "stipulations" in which they agreed to cease and desist from the use of specific false statements in their advertisements were rewarded by anonymity. Consumers should consult bound copies of the commission's reports in libraries and should get on its mailing list, if possible, to secure its "Monthly Statement of Work."

Grading Food

The Bureau of Home Economics differs from the agencies just named in that its consumer-serving activities do not involve naming the names of and exposing injurious or falsely recommended products. It is, however, the sole government bureau devoting itself entirely to consumption problems from the standpoint of consumer wellbeing. This it does by studying standards, grades and qualities of foods, textiles and household equipment from the consumer's point of view.

The bureau studies satisfactory uses and methods of care of consumer goods. It issues many publications of value to consumers of which its "Present Guides to Household Buying," and its "quality guides" in the buying of such products as sheets, pillowcases, ready-made dresses and blankets are typical. Its bulletins and circulars on food and nutrition and on household equipment and kitchen planning are also useful.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics grades and inspects many farm products on their way from producer to consumer, including fruits, vegetables, canned chicken and chicken products. Grade names for consumer information are officially stamped also on much of our dressed beef, mutton, lamb and veal, and grade labels are provided for sausage, frankfurters and other processed meats, as well as for eggs, dressed poultry and butter. Persons or groups financially interested in any lots of canned fruits and vegetables can obtain grading of samples on payment of a fee. The bureau issues valuable publications on standards and grades for farm products and for containers, as well as fruit and vegetable buying guides for consumers.

Meat inspection, of course, in distinction from grading, is carried on by the Bureau of Animal Industry which can supply popular publications describing how this work is performed. The office of information of the Department of Agriculture should be addressed with respect to securing information originating from any of the above-named bureaus.

Consumers' Counsel

The Agricultural Adjustment administration maintains a Consumers' Counsel division to facilitate the operation of the administration's farm program without injury to consumers, and to assemble and publish factual material on changes in supplies and prices of foods and farm products. Its Consumers' Guide, issued biweekly, is designed to aid wise consumer buying and the understanding of price changes. Subscription is free on request, but the publication does not name names.

The consumers' project of the Department of Labor is a leftover from the National Recovery administration's consumers' division. It at one time published a periodical called the Consumer which, for a time, named names and gave very revealing facts about certain manufactured products. It threatens now to revive this publication. If it is as good as it was before, get it by all means. Its Information and Publications section answers inquiries on consumer problems and sends literature to those requesting it.

The Children's bureau of the Department of Labor supplies extremely useful publications on prenatal and infant care, on child health and training, and on juvenile nutrition. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in this department issues excellent publications on the organization and management of consumers' cooperatives, on cooperative housing and on cooperative gasoline and oil associations, as well as its Labor Information Bulletin and its Monthly Labor Review.

Distribution Costs

The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce has a consumer market section which seeks to collect and analyze data of value on the efficient and economical distribution of consumer goods. It will answer consumer inquiries regarding unavoidable distribution costs which they share and help create, and makes printed matter available to the general public.

The Bureau of Fisheries of the Department of Commerce carries on studies designed to improve the quality of the product delivered to consumers while at the same time conserving a great natural resource. It publishes interesting material on such typical subjects as "Fish and Shell Fish of New England," "Vitamins A and D in Fish Oils," and "Oysters and Anemia."

The publications of the Home Economics Education service of the office of education, Department of Interior, should not be overlooked, and the same should be said for those of the National Bureau of Standards

in the Department of Commerce. It must be remembered that the last-named bureau is supposed to aid consumers indirectly by cooperating with industrial groups in the elimination of waste and through the development of simplified practice. It is not primarily a consumer bureau and there is no reason for vituperating it on the assumption that it is.

The Bureau of Public Health Service in the Department of the Treasury is concerned with the prevention of disease and the protection of the public health in general. Its publications on milk control and milk sanitation are invaluable. Further information on dairy products can be secured from the Bureau of Dairy Industry in the Department of Agriculture.

Brief mention should also be given to the publications of the following agencies in Washington, the names of the agencies in each case giving sufficient clue to the subject matter: Electric Home and Farm authority; Farm Credit administration; Federal Housing administration; Federal Power commission; Rural Electrification administration; Resettlement administration; Tennessee Valley authority; United States Tariff commission.

The United States Information service was established by the National Emergency council in March 1934 to aid those seeking general information or contact with specific phases of governmental activity. The service also assists all government departments in the proper routing of inquiries from the public. It may be addressed at 1423 F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Private Agencies

Possibly a final and all too brief word should be said about private consumer-aid agencies. Those which issue to a paying membership publications rating advertised products by name are improving in accuracy and declining in emotional bias. But the best of them is not yet good enough. Meanwhile Jerome W. Ephraim, Inc., of 191 Warren street, New York, has just issued a new "Ephraim Manual—Facts Everyone Should Know About Drugs and Cosmetics." This contains readable, accurate material of great value to consumers, and the specification products sold by the firm can be recommended.

The councils of the American Medical association, as well as its Journal, give reliable information regarding cosmetics, foods and drug preparations, naming names. The association's bureau of investigation will advise consumers who address it at Chicago. The bureau of chemistry of the American Dental association, also of Chicago, can be recommended as giving unbiased facts about dentifrices and oral preparations generally. Its Journal of the American Dental Association publishes this material and some of it at least is made available in looseleaf form to those who write in.

The following all supply consumer information of one kind or another to certain groups: American Association for Adult Education (60 East 42nd Street, New York); American Association of University Women (1634 I Street, N.W., Washington); American Home Economics Association (Mills Building, Washington); Cooperative League of the United States of America (167 West 12th Street, New York); General Federation of Women's Clubs (1734 N Street, N.W., Washington); National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers (20 Boulevard N.E., Atlanta); National Congress of Parents and Teachers (1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington); National Consumers' League (156 Fifth Avenue, New York); National League of Women Voters (726 Jackson Place, Washington); National Association of Purchasing Agents, Inc. (11 Park Place, New York). The need for some central coordinating agency to classify and distribute consumer information from all sources on a subject-matter basis is self-evident.

BOOKS

Mr. Huxley Turns a Corner

EYELESS IN GAZA. *By Aldous Huxley. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

NICE PEOPLE, whose repugnance to impropriety is stronger than their appreciation of the values that may emerge from the consideration of improper situations, will probably not get far enough into Mr. Huxley's novel to learn why he wrote it. They will, indeed, need to go almost to the end to learn that, but they will not find it by skipping to the end. Even in the thick of the improprieties they cannot fail to be impressed and entertained, and even instructed if they will permit it, by the wealth of clever comment and insight. But undeniably the leading characters in this novel have very bad characters, though they are supposed to be among the "best people." When, for example, a mother and daughter both become the successive mistresses of the same two men, one of whom is the "hero" of the story, it would seem clear that Mr. Huxley has gone as far as necessary toward picturing a society in an advanced state of putrefaction. These people are not the dumb and dirty sort of immoralists. They are, in the main, frustrated and disillusioned intellectuals who, finding nothing of importance on the heights, amuse themselves as best they can on lower levels.

But the point of the story is that Anthony, who has been as cynical and casually sensual as any of them, experiences something equivalent to a conversion, first through contact with a wandering anthropologist in Mexico, then through some inner change which leads to his enlistment in the crusade against war. Said the anthropologist: "If you call a man a bug, it means that you propose to treat him as a bug. Whereas if you call him a man, it means that you propose to treat him as a man. . . . If one looks for men, one finds them." Two pages later: "Savages are usually hostile and suspicious. The anthropologist has got to learn to overcome that hostility and suspicion. And when he's learnt that, he's learnt the whole secret of politics . . . that if you treat other people well, they'll treat you well."

Back from Mexico, and with the seeds of this lesson growing in his mind, Anthony thinks his way through to a consistent pacifist position and gives himself to the cause. The last scene shows him pondering a threat that he has received from pa-

triotic ruffians as he is preparing to go to a peace meeting where he is advertised to speak. The decision forms itself in his mind. "Dispassionately, and with serene lucidity, he thought of what was in store for him. Whatever it might be, he knew now that all would be well."

Those are the last words of the book. Anthony had wallowed with the rest, but he won through till he was within sight of the stars and had his foot on a path leading upward.

Mr. Huxley is as far from being naive or unsophisticated as any British or American writer who could be mentioned. If his previous books did not prove that—as they do—the whole earlier part of this one does. It is as though he wished to demonstrate to any cynical reader that he knew all that could be said for cleverness and sophistication as a way of life, that he had a good working knowledge of sinful man, still more, sinful woman, that he realized how selfish and odious virtue can be (as the only very good woman in the book is), and that his new faith in the worth of mankind and in the power of love is of the sort that begins on the farther side of disillusion.

The title comes from a line in Milton's "Samson"—"Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves." For the triumphant ending, a more appropriate motto would be William Penn's words: "Force may subdue, but Love gains; and he who forgives first wins the laurel." Mr. Huxley has turned the corner. He is a superb artist in words, and he has something to say. There is no novelist alive whose next book should be awaited with more excitement.

W. E. GARRISON.

Puritans At Home

PURITANS AT HOME. *By Clarence M. Webster. Harcourt, Brace and Company, $2.00.*

RACY readable sketches of a New England community. One who knows the section must admit the accuracy of the picture. The paradox of moral strictness and kindly tolerance even of vices is well explained by the fact that the harmony and welfare of "the town" is the ultimate test. The chapter on dialect is admirable. "We Hire a Minister" is true to life. But the description is that of a man to whom profanity and sex errors are interesting rather than objectionable, a realist rather than an idealist. For this very reason, the rural pastor will find the book illuminating. But it should be corrected by such a study as "Steeples Among the Hills," by Rev. Arthur W. Hewitt. Are those whom the author describes "Puritans"? Cotton Mather defined them: "The first age was the Golden Age. To return to that will make a man a Puritan." Even the best of Mr. Webster's characters seek no golden age but are content with a static society. Is this just to a section which has sent out its sons to lead the progressive west and still, in spite of immigration, responds to such proposals for "rural progress" as "The Amherst Movement"? There *are* descendents of the Puritans like those described, but they are salt that has lost its savor.

Tristan de Luna

TRISTAN DE LUNA, CONQUISTADOR OF THE OLD SOUTH. *By Herbert Ingram Priestley. Arthur H. Clark Company, $5.00.*

DON TRISTAN had been with Coronado on his wonderful journey of exploration and conquest from Mexico to Kansas in 1540-1542. He was thus a direct heir to the tradition that traces back through Cabeza de Vaca and Narvaez to Ponce de Leon and Florida. It was therefore not inappropriate that he should be selected to head an expedition to make settlements which would guard the mainland side of the passage to the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and so to Mexico and Peru. He tried to establish settlements at Pensacola and in northern Alabama. Hurricanes and mutiny wrecked his plans, but he made a valiant effort. His successor, Villafañe, failed too, when he abandoned the interior—the Spaniards never had much luck with migratory Indians—and turned to the making of a settlement on the Atlantic coast. Storms wrecked his ships, and the French (Coligny's Huguenots) won the race for the Florida coast—unluckily for them, for Menendez came presently and massacred them. It is interesting to note how these ambitious enterprises of conquest were rationalized as strictly defensive measures. There had to be forts on the Florida coast to keep the French in Newfoundland from edging over into South Carolina, and Alabama had to be taken to protect the route to Peru! Dr. Priestley, librarian of the Bancroft library and professor of Mexican history in the University of California, has done a fine piece of research in a field that has been but little explored.

Books in Brief

THE JEWS IN GERMANY. *By Marvin Lowenthal. Longmans, Green & Company, $3.00.*

A scholarly and dispassionate survey of the fortunes and misfortunes of the Jewish people in Germany from the days of the earliest Jewish traders among the Germanic tribes to the present phase of nazi anti-semitism.

THE FAR FOREST. *By Francis Brett Young. Reynal & Hitchcock, $2.50.*

The present novel is Mr. Young's twenty-fourth, if our count is correct. In quality as well as in quantity of output, he rates high among contemporary British novelists. Avoiding wider social implications or anything that could be very seriously called a "problem," he dissects and displays the minds of a few characters with a thoroughness and delicacy suggestive of the operating room. In this case his central characters are two cousins, boy and girl, the ramifications of whose bitter experiences in childhood and youth form two separate stories until the threads are woven together at the end.

THE ALCESTIS OF EURIPIDES, AN ENGLISH VERSION. *By Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $1.25.*

The able poets who have collaborated in this translation have succeeded in the difficult task of preserving the dignity and loftiness of Greek tragedy while avoiding stilted and stiff phrases. Greek actors spoke through masks but they did not speak in bombast, as some English translators would have them do. This would probably be a good text for modern acting. It is certainly a good one for reading.

I'M FOR ROOSEVELT. *By Joseph P. Kennedy. Reynal & Hitchcock, $1.00.*

This is a business man's argument for the re-election of Roosevelt. The author was associated with the administration as chairman of the securities and exchange commission appointed by the President. He discusses taxes, budget-balancing, the farm problem, money, unemployment, relief and legislation for the control of securities. To review his arguments would be to review all the issues of the campaign. Mr. Kennedy puts his case clearly and concisely and fortifies it with statistical tables and graphs.

CATCH-'EM ALIVE JACK, THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF AN AMERICAN PIONEER. *By John R. Abernathy. Association Press, $2.00.*

"He caught 1,000 wolves with his bare hands," says the jacket. This, however, was a side-line. First he was a cow-

puncher in Texas, then (how could a cow-puncher bring himself to it!) a homesteader in Oklahoma, and later a United States marshall, appointed by T. R. who had been with him on wolf-hunts. A regular he-man, without a doubt, and one of the last of the westerners of the frontier school. Pretty well mashed up by an accident in drilling an oil well, he attributes his recovery entirely to prayer and divine healing. He manages to condense his testimony on that point into ten lines on the last page.

HEADS AND TALES. *By Malvina Hoffman. Charles Scribners' Sons, $5.00.*

One of the greatest glories of Chicago's Field museum, which is full of glories, is its "Hall of Man" containing something over thirty life-size bronze figures and enough heads to bring the total number above a hundred, all representing types of human structure and features in as many races and tribes, from Nordics and Alpines to Australian Bushmen, African pigmies and the peoples of Malayan jungles. Stranger still, these are all the work of a single sculptor, Malvina Hoffman. Strangest of all, they are approved as excellent by both artists and ethnologists. In this fascinating volume, Miss Hoffman tells the story of her own life, of her training in sculpture under Rodin and her practice of the art in New York and Paris and elsewhere, and especially of the five years spent in carrying out this gigantic commission for the Field museum. Believe it or not, the original intention of the promoters of this enterprise was to have the figures made of plaster with real hair and glass eyes—a sort of Madame Taussaud's wax works—and she signed the contract on that basis, in the hope of being able to talk them out of it in favor of the dignity and permanence of bronze. That hope was fortunately fulfilled. Much of the work of modeling the figures of primitive peoples was done in the field—in central Africa, in Borneo, Java and Bali, and in many other places even to reach which was an achievement, and in which to persuade shy natives to pose was a diplomatic triumph and to do the work of a sculptor was an arduous labor. She tells the tales of her heads and of herself in a style which shows that her artistic skill is not confined to modeling and carving.

CORRESPONDENCE

Yes

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Concerning your article on Dr. Poling's call to Temple church, and several other letters, kindly say *Yes* or *No:* "Was Jesus *immersed* in the Jordan river?" Never mind any explanations about significance or meaning of baptism. Thank you.

Washington, D. C. JOHN RUTHVEN.

The Campaign

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It seems to me that Dr. High's article is more important for what it fails to say than for what it says. He reiterates that the President is, and has been from the first, for men as against possessions, and yet about the first and about the only 1932 platform pledge which he has carried out was the repeal of the 18th amendment so ardently desired by "big business" in order that the proletariat might, by drinking beer, have the gracious privilege of helping with the taxes!

I cannot vote for Mr. Roosevelt and I cannot vote for Mr. Landon—in fact, I am beginning to think I will "take a walk" on November 3.

Claremont, Calif. A. E. BRUCE.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: What an article Stanley High wrote! I wish every American citizen could read it with an open mind. What a challenge for us all to consider, that the methods by which Roosevelt is trying to solve our selfish economic problem are those which the prophetic and socially-minded element in the church has advocated. Many thanks for all your articles and especially for the High article, for it seems he has struck the keynote for the welfare not only of our United States but of the whole world.

Episcopal Church, BEN H. SMITH.
Atchison, Kan.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Taft criticizes the NRA's attempt to reduce working hours and, at the same time, increase wages. The result, as he rightly claims, was higher commodity prices, consequently no advancement in real wages. I agree with Mr. Taft's criticism. Under our present profit-motivated economic system any increase in wages will be accompanied by higher prices, because the owners of capital are not willing to take a cut in profits. On the other hand, Mr. Taft suggests that the real remedy is the maintenance of high wages, and mass production, resulting in lower prices to the consumer. Here he is following the recommendations of the Brookings institution. But I claim it is just as absurd, under our present system, to expect the owners of capital to lower prices and maintain high wages as it is to expect them to increase wages without raising prices!

Again, should Governor Landon be elected, Mr. Taft claims that he will be able to revise the reciprocal trade agreements which have been "especially harmful to our farmers." The Bureau of Agricultural Economics states that the imports of competitive farm products into the United States during 1935 were 37 per cent smaller than in 1929. The value of imports of all competitive farm products, with the exception of sugar, in 1929 was $808,000,000; in 1935 it was $489,000,000. Let's say no more about the damaging effects of imports upon the American farmer!

Lastly, we agree that there is no justification for Roosevelt's armament building program. The huge appropriations for the army and navy comprise one of the most disheartening things about the whole administration. But I've looked in vain for a suggestion from Mr. Landon that these huge expenditures will be curtailed if he is elected.

Federated Church, G. A. MOON.
Raymond, Nebr.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Dr. Stanley High makes the issue before the country "whether the protection of property or the protection of people shall be the first economic concern of our government." Thus, with one mighty prophetic stroke of his righteous sword, he divides the electorate into sheep and goats. Good, kind people are those who vote for the protection of people—and Roosevelt; bad, cold-hearted people are those who vote for property protection—and presumably go to hell. If all moral problems could be reduced to such neat, simple alternatives, righteous conduct would indeed be an easy matter.

Has Dr. High considered carefully what is meant by "protecting people's rights," and what those rights are? Such things as the right to enough food, enough clothing, enough shelter, would certainly be included among these basic "rights" he speaks of. But how can government protect people in these primary needs for enough food, shelter and clothing, without protecting food, shelter and clothing, and all the farms, factories and materials which are necessary for their production—that is, without protecting property itself? Economically speaking, there is no distinction between property rights and human rights, nor between the protection of people and the protection of property. Both must be preserved

together or both will be destroyed together. Making a distinction between them is vicious, false and misleading, and tends to raise people into an atmosphere of exalted self-righteousness far removed from logic and reality.

Lake Bluff, Ill. HORACE F. FERRY.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am more impressed by the things Mr. High leaves out than by what he says. He fails to mention Mr. Roosevelt's drive for the world's largest navy, resulting in congressional appropriation of the largest sum ever spent by any nation in peace time. This in spite of the fact that daily we were going deeper into debt, and the more potent fact that many peace-minded folk believe such action would simply hasten our participation in another war.

Mr. High ignores Mr. Roosevelt's record on civil service. This is important in any discussion of persons vs. property. The whole matter of civic morale is wrapped up in it. Without any serious denial on the part of Mr. Roosevelt, facts show that no administration in a generation has so flagrantly and conspicuously sidestepped civil service for political appointments.

Mr. High hears the voice of Jacob. It deals with fine ideals, and worthy objectives. None of us but say Amen to much that the President utters. But Mr. High, apparently has failed to detect the hands of Esau. Tammany tactics have been taken over bodily and scattered to every state in the union. And much that Tammany only dreamed might be done is now a matter of every day procedure in the party presided over by Mr. Farley.

Presbyterian Church, CHARLES J. WOOD.
Fredonia, N. Y.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Taft's article is a striking example of what Sigmund Freud terms "rationalizing." I do not think that he states the real reason why he advocates the election of Governor Landon. I think the real reason for his vote is that Governor Landon is the nominee of the republican party.

Methodist Church, ERNEST C. WIDENHOUSE.
Boone, N. C.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am disappointed in Stanley High—as a Christian. He bases his sole argument on the fact that, in the past, the first economic concern of the government has been the protection of property, and that under the Roosevelt administration it has been the protection of the people. As far as he goes, he is probably right.

But, Mr. High, is not Christianity based on more than economic principles? Can you, as a Christian, vote for a man who admits being largely responsible for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment; which already has been guilty of the moral abasement of thousands, the deaths of countless others through the increased reckless driving, and which has broken up many homes in the past three years? Can you, Mr. High, vote for a man that insists on increasing the armaments of this nation, until they tower to a dizzy height almost ready to collapse and fall on the very people who must pay for them?

Methodist Church, WILBUR P. WOOD.
Hanna, Wyo.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I had read and re-read the articles favoring Roosevelt and Landon, and still felt in doubt. Now I am sure I am for the things Norman Thomas stands for, and I am convinced that he states a solemn truth in his closing paragraph: "The best way to lose what democracy we have is to continue the process of voting our fears and not our hopes, of trying every four years to decide on the lesser of two evils, rather than build a party with a philosophy and a program."

Oberlin, O. (MRS.) L. T. TERBORGH.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: How much Mr. High's article has clarified my thought and strengthened it I cannot tell you. How convincingly does he set forth human values as the real issue over property values! It would seem that many had waited despairingly for the word that would clear away every doubt and mark out for the Christian the way to travel in the coming big campaign. Mr. High has struck it. It is as clear as Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address. I hold some utility stocks and I know that to vote for Roosevelt is in reality to vote against the interest of my own pocketbook but I feel I must do it to be Christian.

Congregational Church, GEORGE F. TRIPP.
Englewood, Colo.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Three recent magazine articles (two of them in his defense) speak of "hating" Roosevelt. Why should anyone hate such an amiable gentleman? Most any *person* is too complex to hate. But I can hate an idea. The present administration has been overrun by cranks, as Harding's was by crooks, and the crooks were a lot cheaper. No crank ever recognizes the failure of his own pet project.

In taking stock of my own prejudices, they seem to have come from making a living at farming, and my connection with farm organizations. The Rev. Mr. High's, of course, are those of the professional uplifters who have lately got a fresh grip on their boot-straps.

Fredericktown, O. GEORGE C. MCCLELLAND.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: After reading the Taft article, I believe there are still some questions on which the people are entitled to answers. For instance: Why does economic planning mean loss of freedom to the nation? Bankruptcy is the usual result of lack of planning. When have the republicans been particularly non-partisan with respect to job patronage? Have they forgotten the graft scandals of the Harding administration? Why do they think Mr. Landon will inaugurate a "merit system," by which I suppose he means a civil service program? Kansas has had civil service on her statute books for 13 years (which includes four years of Mr. Landon) and still we have no places filled by civil service in this state.

Manhattan, Kan. GEORGE W. MAXWELL.

Those Straw Ballots

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is easy to prove almost anything by a straw ballot. But there are straw ballots which the public has every right to believe are conducted with impartiality and the desire only to show the actual trend of public opinion as reflected by the votes of a fair cross-section of the whole population. First among these is, of course, the Literary Digest poll. The tabulation of hundreds of thousands of straw ballots is accepted as a true picture in miniature of how the tens of millions of voters feel about the election. The result, blazoned to the world not only in that magazine but through the daily press and by radio, "Landon Holds Substantial Lead Over Roosevelt," is major news which undoubtedly carries weight with vacillating voters who like to back a winner.

Unfortunately, even the Literary Digest poll has proved itself unreliable and misleading up to the present time. It does not give a fair cross-section of the voting public. The presidential vote in 1932 was divided 22,821,857 for Roosevelt and 15,761,481 for Hoover—roughly 59 per cent to 41 per cent. It is obvious, therefore, that a fair cross-section of the present voters would show that roughly 59 per cent of them voted for Roosevelt in 1932, however they may intend to vote this year. The Literary Digest shows us how its balloters voted in 1932 so that we may easily check whether this 59:41 ratio is actually represented. And what do we find? We find that the people whose votes are being given us as accurately reflecting public opinion would have elected Hoover in 1932! Instead of a 59:41 ratio of 1932 votes, we actually find a 46:54 ratio as of October 3.

Hoover was not elected in 1932. Obviously therefore it is unfair and misleading to draw any inferences from the straw ballots of any group, however large, who would have elected Hoover in 1932. And that is exactly what the Literary Digest poll has led the press of the country to do.

Possibly these straw ballots are to some extent self-corrective.

The ratio of 1932 Roosevelt voters may substantially increase in the late returns. But that they are far from infallible and to be taken with a considerable portion of skepticism, not to say distrust, appears only too plain.

Kenilworth, Ill. PAUL Y. WILLETT.

Harvard Radicals

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I note in Charles H. Lyttle's article, "Was Fair Harvard's Father a Red?" in your issue of September 16, a reference to the refusal of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine to publish a requested article written by Corliss Lamont and myself. For the sake of the record and of justice to the publishers of the Alumni Bulletin, which has taken over the business of the defunct Graduates' Magazine, may I say that the article was finally published as a reprint from the Nation. It took considerable publicity to get them to see how damaging to the university was a refusal to print an article on "Harvard Heretics and Rebels" because it might offend wealthy contributors in a tercentenary campaign.

New York, N. Y. ROGER BALDWIN.

Methodist Youth

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The Christian Century puts its editorial finger on the significant point in the action of the National Conference of Methodist Youth at Berea concerning its relationships to the denomination's board of education: namely, that this resolution was framed *after* the conference with the bishops and leaders.

The council (the smaller, permanent group of delegated representatives) realizing at its first meeting the need for primary source information before it could make any definite recommendations, voted to invite Bishop Leonard, Bishop Blake, Bishop Baker and Dr. Lester Auman to its next session. However, at the request of Bishop Leonard, it heard him alone, consulting with the others in the following session. The final recommendations were drawn up by committees of youth during the conference. This should allay any suspicions that the resolutions were written by adults or that they were brought ready-made to the conference. It is significant that the resolution condemning the recent action of the board in the Kirkpatrick-Geer incident and the pledge of confidence in and cooperation with the new leadership were both framed after these consultative sessions.

As for the vote on unification, your correspondent is correct in stating "that the matter was debated solely on the racial issue and that other aspects of the unification plan were ignored." I believe that debate in the general conference in May was likewise confined to the racial issue. It is not true, however, "that the presentation of the anti-segregation argument also was obviously staged." Several of the Negro delegates did make strong speeches against the feature of segregation in the plan, but there was nothing prearranged or in any sense "staged." The youth of the church are not against union with the other Methodist bodies, but they refuse to achieve that union by a compromise of the principle of racial brotherhood. Their vote of 466 to 14 against unification on the present basis is an eloquent testimony of their conviction.

Shelton, Conn. ELLEN LUND.

Fred B. Smith

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is with a deep sense of personal loss that I read in The Christian Century of Fred B. Smith's death. I first met Fred B. at a student conference at Lake Geneva in the early 1900's. I was serving as the presiding officer and he was then secretary of the religious work department of the international committee of the Y.M.C.A. For years we were thrown together intimately, although we lived far apart. Fred was a born promoter; he knew how to extract money from business men and make them like it. He taught them the joy of Christian stewardship, and they loved him the more for it.

When Fred Smith was in his prime he had no equal as an evangelist to men. His great voice, his husky body, his fluency, his outspoken, plain message—all attracted men and they responded to his appeal in large numbers.

Your comment regarding Mr. Smith's emphasis on the social gospel in his later years has its counterpart in the experience of Sherwood Eddy. As a member of Mr. Eddy's first European party I was cautioned more than once by our leader lest I go too far in my expression of liberalism. Now we liberals of earlier years occasionally find Mr. Eddy away out in no man's land. All of which goes to show that the individual gospel is only half the whole gospel.

The Young Men's Christian association has trained some mighty men in its history. Among these Fred B. Smith stands close to the top of the list.

Estes Park, Colo. WILLIAM E. SWEET.

The Question Box

Was cremation the usual method of disposing of the dead among the Israelites? That seems to be the significance of such passages as Jeremiah 34:5. Were other methods employed? J. G. H., Waco, Tex.

CREMATION was never practiced among the Hebrews. The usual rite was burial, as in the cases of Sarah (Gen. 23:19), Joshua (Jud. 2:9) and many other instances. To be deprived of interment was to be disgraced (1 Kings 13:22, etc.). A part of the superstition of the age was to connect the departed spirit with the body as long as possible, to insure it quiet, and prevent its restless wandering about as a menace to the living. The Semitic nations all buried their dead, as did the Egyptians, although the latter attempted to preserve the body for activities in the future life by the process of embalming. This was never resorted to by the Hebrews save under Egyptian influence, as in the case of the body of Joseph (Gen. 50:26).

The burning of a human body was regarded as an insult to the dead, an act that called for rebuke and punishment, as in the case of the king of Moab, who burned the body of his neighbor of Edom (Amos 2:1). To burn the bones of the dead was an act of profanation, a defilement of the place where it occurred (2 Kings 23:16). The treatment of the bodies of Saul and his sons by the men of Jabesh-gilead might seem at first to be a violation of the respect due to the dead, to say nothing of the remains of a king to whom they were indebted for deliverance from enemies (1 Sam. 31:12, 13). But the corpses had been mutilated and hung up in token of disgrace. It was the kindly act of these grateful men to save the remains from further mistreatment by putting them beyond the power of the Philistines to do them worse injury, by burning the flesh (if the text is correct) and burying the bones. Perhaps a better reading omits (with Moffatt) all reference to burning, and states that they buried the bodies under a sacred tree.

In instances in which the bodies of offenders were burned after stoning, as in the case of Achan (Josh. 7:25), it was for the purpose of making the punishment more emphatic and exemplary; it had no bearing upon the customary treatment of the dead.

The references to burnings in connection with the death of kings have nothing to do with the disposition of the bodies of the dead. The funeral rites were dignified and elaborated by the burning of fragrant woods and spices. As modern people honor the living who have won victories or are otherwise deemed worthy of celebration by the burning of bonfires, earlier nations honored the dead in the same manner. Such were the burnings accorded kings like Asa (2 C hron. 16:14), whose subjects, it is recorded, buried him in a sepulchre which he had himself prepared, and laid him in a bed filled with spices, and made a great burning for him. In other cases, where the deceased was less popular, as with Jehoram (2 Chron. 21:19), there was a burial but no burning. The prophet Jeremiah assured the unfortunate king Zedekiah that in spite of all the misfortunes which had befallen him, he should not lack honor in his death.

The burning of the bodies of the dead is the universal practice of the Hindus, and is widely practiced by other people. Cremation has rapidly gained in favor in western lands.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Methodists of Texas Celebrate

Northern and Southern Conferences Will Unite in Centennial Session—Five Year Plan for Baptists

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, Oct. 3.—The centennial session of Texas Methodism will be celebrated in Houston Nov. 4 by a joint meeting of the five conferences in the southwest and the Southern conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. The list of speakers includes Bishops Hughes, Mead, Miller and Mouzon; Gov. Conner of Mississippi, Roy L. Smith of Los Angeles, Ivan Lee Holt, president of the Federal council, and Senator Morris Sheppard. Twenty-five thousand are expected to attend. While Texas Methodists observed their centennial in 1934, the present general observance has induced this extraordinary celebration.

* * *

Baptists to Launch Five-Year Plan

Texas Baptists, observing the 50th year of their convention, their 100th year since organization of a local church here, will stage a dramatic pageant, "Give Me Texas," in their Mineral Wells session, Nov. 10. Distinguished leaders of the denomination throughout the south will speak. The executive board will recommend a five-year plan for the retirement of all debt and a measurable increase in budget allocations to the missionary cooperative program.

* * *

Gipsy Smith Stirs Dallas

Gipsy Smith, sr., under the auspices of the General Pastor's association, has been creating quite a stir in Dallas. He has twice daily filled the First Baptist church, which seats 4,500, even when floods were making church attendance almost impossible. His strictures on lax law enforcement have not awakened resentment, and may even have achieved some improvement. Professions of faith have been numerous.

* * *

Hold Youth Conference

The diocese of Texas, Bishop Quin presiding, is conducting a young people's conference in St. Paul's church here on the theme, "Finding a Religion to Live By."

* * *

Southern and Northern Presbyterians Hold Joint Meetings

Southern Presbyterians welcome joint meetings with Presbyterians U.S.A. in Texas synods in Dallas this week. T. W. Currie, chairman, will feature the evangelistic committee's report on successes during the diamond jubilee year. N. R. Hawkins leaves the pastorate in Taylor to head the Presbyterian orphanage at Itasca.

* * *

And So Forth

Changes in Baptist pastorates to be noted are C. E. Hereford from Columbus avenue, Waco, to First, Lubbock; E. D. Head from First, Houston, to First, San Antonio. Mrs. M. T. Andrews, wife of the pastor of First church, Texarkana, died on Thursday of this week. Dr. Andrews is in China with President John R. Sampey of the Southern Baptist convention as representative to Chinese Baptist missions, which are celebrating their centennial.

The Texas legislature has voted by a substantial majority to investigate the alleged teaching of communism in state schools. It is not known whether this is a republican move to embarrass the democrats or occasioned by evidence of guilt on the part of teachers.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Women's Peace League Supports Present Spanish Government

The executive committee of the Women's International league for peace and freedom has sent a resolution from Geneva to the heads of the Spanish government and the leaders of delegations at the league assembly in which it demands support for the present government of Spain. Declaring that fascist states are making a mockery of neutrality, the W.I.L. urges the league to set up a body to see that neutrality is genuinely observed, and demands "that the states comprising the committee of coordination establish immediately a strict control to prevent all importation of arms and munitions to Spain and especially to stop delivery of war materials by the fascist countries to the rebel forces. Finally we appeal to all democratic governments for support with every moral, diplomatic and economic means possible of the legal government in Spain in order to assist it to maintain democracy in that unfortunate land."

Austrian Catholics Accept State Youth Organization

After considerable hesitation, inspired by developments in Germany, the Catholic authorities in Austria have finally agreed that the Austrian state may organize a "Union of Youth" into which young Catholics may be incorporated as a means of teaching patriotism. The official statement given out to deny that this constitutes an infringement of the concordat between church and state, says that the organization of the government youth body has been made necessary because "Pan-German and socialistic teachers" have hitherto exercised too much influence on the minds of the young.

Neil Crawford Begins New Pastorate

Rev. Neil Crawford, for nearly eight years the pastor of West Boulevard Disciples church in Cleveland and one of the leading younger ministers in that city, has announced his resignation to accept a call to the First church of the Disciples in Athens, O. Mr. Crawford has been chairman of the religious education committee of the Cleveland church federation, dean of the Cleveland downtown college of religion, a member of the Schauffler missionary training school, president of the Cleveland Disciples ministers' association and is president-elect of the Campbell institute.

Friends Honor Scott Lidgett

Methodist Leader Completes Sixty Years in Ministry—Rearmament Approved by Labor Party

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Sept. 22.—It is 60 years since Dr. Scott Lidgett became a Methodist preacher. His friends celebrated this diamond jubilee last week. If I were to tell of all the offices he has held and of all his many achievements, The Christian Century would have to bring out a special supplement. But happily the story is still to be continued. How he has filled his many parts—preacher, writer, theologian, statesman, educationalist—no one can tell, but it is evident that early in his life he found his appointed way, and he has not wasted time and energy by having to seek for another. Early he found the satisfaction of his whole being in the Christian gospel, and this he has been content to enforce and to illustrate with remarkable intellectual ability, but he has never found it necessary to seek any other way of life. Therefore he has never seemed ruffled or panic-stricken, and he has been able to make the most of his powers.

One thing I like most to remember of him. He founded the Bermondsey settlement in 1891, and he still lives among his own poor friends there. That is his base. There was a stone-laying once in Bermondsey; some poor women were looking on. One of them seeing Dr. Scott Lidgett on the platform, cried: "Why, Gawd! there's our Dr. Lidgett." The former vice-chancellor of London university must be more proud of that recognition than of any other that has come to him.

* * *

Books of the Summer

The best sellers of the summer are given in the Author. In the fiction which is chosen, three of the English books are found in the American list: "Eyeless in Gaza," "The Weather in the Streets" and "South Riding." But there are others which are shared by the two peoples, though at a rather different time. In the non-fiction department, "Inside Europe" is the only book found in both lists. In the English lists travel has a large place: "News from Tartary," "The Southern Gates of Arabia" and "Green Hills of Africa" are found, as well as "Inside Europe." Beverly Nichols has a place with his "The Fool Hath Said," which is the only one of the 12 dealing directly with religion. It remains true, as I have reported before, that second to fiction in popular taste comes biography and after that travel. But there is a growing demand, I believe, for books on religion in which there is a certain liveliness.

* * *

Labor Will Support Rearmament

There is still the same confusion in our political discussions. Labor has moved to-

ward the right, and the government has no reason to dread its hostility to the new armament schemes. Liberals criticize strongly the policy of drift because of which we are drawing near to a terrific crisis. They blame the timid and half-hearted democratic governments which by their failure to support the league have brought this about. They call upon the government with the help of others to secure an armistice in Spain. That land is a powder-cask at the moment. So far as political forces are concerned, the policy of rearmament will not be seriously resisted.

But there are many, not without influence, who are speaking out on other matters. Lord Horder, physician-in-ordinary to the king, has condemned both hordes of barbarians who impose a bastard civilization an mankind. "A plague on both your blouses, red or black!" "When individual freedom has been sacrificed," he says, "I see no chance of achieving that control in the spiritual sphere through which alone I think salvation can come to us. . . . What matters the color of men's shirts if these are soon to be their shrouds?"

* * *

Will Britain Fight Fascism Or Bolshevism?

But can Britain stay out of a conflict between fascism and bolshevism, if such broke out in Europe? "Such a conflict, so far as we are concerned," says the Spectator, "is no cause of war at all. . . . Arm we must in an arming world, but more with a view to enabling us to remain at peace than to enable us to fight—even if to fight were to win." But Mr. Aldous Huxley says: "Let us avoid vague abstract words such as 'force,' 'arms,' 'collective security,' 'international police force,' and think exclusively in terms of concrete contemporary reality. The contemporary facts are planes, tanks, high explosives, thermite and vesicants. Is it conceivable that we can use such instruments and yet retain our freedom and free institutions?" There is no agreement among our spiritual guides. But the rearmament for peaceful ends will not be checked.

I ought to add that Mr. Lloyd George returns from Germany with a belief that Herr Hitler also is rearming only for defense and does not mean to wage a war of attack.

* * *

And So Forth

Gas-masks for the protection of our people are being prepared. There are to be 30,000,000 available. Scientists seem to find mustard-gas less formidable.

Stay-in strikes are becoming a problem here as in other countries. One in Lanarkshire has been particularly distressing to read about; it ended in the return of the men to the surface, severely reduced in health.

In Liverpool this week there is being kept a "Youth Week." In a thousand churches, Catholic, Anglican and free, an appeal is being made to youth for Christ and his church.

The government's new policy for the blind will be very welcome. Old-age pensions for the blind will begin at 40, and attempts to provide enterprises for training them will have further state aid.

Sir William Beveridge, head of the London school of economics, thinks that we are industrially on the crest of a wave, and we shal! have a depression probably in 1938.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Harry F. Ward Back from Spain

Says Government Did Not Seek Quarrel With Church—Presbyterians Assail Red Bar—Dr. Reiland Retires

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Oct. 5.—"The People's Front of Spain, defending the republican government . . . and fighting for law, democracy, freedom and human rights . . . has wished no quarrel with the church" and "continues its Spanish ambassador to the Vatican." This statement, made by Senor Antonio Lara, former minister of justice, and confirmed by eight other outstanding representatives of the hard-pressed Spanish government, was made in the course of an interview which Prof. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological seminary, of New York, and Mr. A. A. MacLeod, chairman of the Canadian League against war and fascism, arranged during their recent visit to Paris. Senor Lara also stated—and again with the confirmation of his colleagues—that whereas many Catholics were on the side of the People's Front, "the high officials of the church have helped the fascist rebels." The archbishop of Mondonedo, it is reported, was at the head of rebel forces, having used his vote to keep the chiefs fighting when they were considering returning their allegiance to the government. Senor Lara added that "no Catholic in England or America could understand such things."

* * *

Fascists Use Churches as Machine Gun Posts

The Hearst charges about attacks on the churches, priests and nuns drew a "very general and passionate denial," reports Dr. Ward. Indeed, in the course of the interview Prof. Marcelino Domingo, former minister of education, said that in many churches were found deposits of arms, that "in a number of cases churches were used as machine gun posts" and that priests actually fired on people "peacefully passing by." This, it was admitted, led to the destruction of many churches. Amid so many charges and countercharges it is becoming evident that certain knowledge of what is going on in Spain these days will not be available for years to come. Someone is doing some lying. But who?

* * *

Spanish Leaders Protest U. S. Non-Intervention Policy

Asked what they thought of the American policy of non-intervention these representative loyalists said that they found it "hard to understand how governments in the countries of freedom do not come to the aid of a government regularly elected by the Spanish people." Said they: "In declaring itself neutral Europe renounces its noble ideal of the defense of civil government. To blockade a legitimate government is an unfriendly act. Neutrality in this case, is equivalent to complicity with the assassins of democracy." In a written appeal "to the people of the United States," following their interview with Dr. Ward and Mr. MacLeod, these men urge that "world-wide sympathy and support of all peoples animated by the same political principles" be accorded the present Spanish government.

* * *

Dr. Buchman Still Wants Dictatorship

Dr. Frank Buchman, who not so long ago thanked heaven for "a man like Adolph Hitler," has now called for "a dictatorship of the living spirit of God." This statement was made last week as he boarded the Europa for England. Continuing, he declared that "democracy without God-control spells chaos. . . . If we let him run things there will be no conflicts in our relationships; only peace and harmony."

* * *

Methodist Conference Urges Progressive Legislation

A high plane of achievement was reached last Saturday by the Central New York Methodists when in their annual conference at Syracuse, they endorsed social security proposals and the cooperative movement, urged the abolition of child labor and condemned teachers' oath bills. They also spoke sharp words in denunciation of "the methods used in the reorganization of the Chicago office of our board of education," which resulted in the ousting of Owen M. Geer and Blaine E. Kirkpatrick. Finally, they praised the youth of Methodism for "their courage and consistency in the application of the teachings of the spirit of Jesus to all of life today."

* * *

Presbyterians Assail Bar on Radicals

The members of the Brooklyn-Nassau presbytery last week matched the outspoken progressivism of their Methodist brethren in Syracuse with a strongly worded protest against the militant and overhanded fashion in which the president of Queens borough, George U. Harvey, has barred communists from meeting in public buildings. They deplored "such tendencies which are denials of the right of free expression and assembly." Rev. Warren E. Darnell, of the Little Neck Community church said that it seemed "totally out of order for a local official to assume the role of a fascist dictator."

* * *

Catholics Seek Federal Aid Against Communism

Continuing their onslaught against "the forces that threaten to engulf us" hundreds of leaders of American Catholicism, meeting in the "National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine" called for "a new 'red' movement of the Spirit to save the world from communism," red, in this instance, symbolizing the "fire of love." The speakers seemed united in their belief that there is no hope for the achievement of this great Catholic goal except through education, both public and parochial. The Rev. George Johnson, of Catholic university, Washington, said that the church "must prepare a program of demands to be made on the government to allow the Catholic church full freedom and provide it with every facility" for its educational program.

* * *

Dr. Reiland Preaches "Farewell" Sermon

Dr. Karl Reiland, who after 24 years as rector of St. George's Episcopal church now retires from the active ministry, preached his "farewell" sermon yesterday.

CAPRETAX BULLETIN

(CAPITAL-RELIEF-TAX)

Increasing Frequency of Depressions

Industrial depressions were not frequent in the United States while frontier land was cheap and the volume of taxation was light. But as the tax burden became heavier, and all unused land on the frontier and elsewhere was taken up into speculative holdings, grave economic changes occurred.

Self-Bankruptcy of System

Under the new conditions, which came to prevail, widespread bankruptcy is frequent and automatic. The most outstanding element in this picture is "frozen paper" based on inflated ground values. Ground rents and the purchase cost of land are a mounting charge on industry as a whole; and until these costs are deflated, no revival of business takes place. But renewed industrial activity leads to re-inflation of ground values in city and country, followed by a new deflation.

Vanishing Frontiers of America and Britain

Seven million (7,000,000) acres of unused land in Britain were "appropriated" by the aristocracy, through Parlimentary Acts, between 1700 and 1850. In the meanwhile, British ground rents increased one thousand (1000) per cent.

A like process took place in the United States, where western frontier territory and all unused land in the nation was absorbed into speculative holdings by the beginning of the present century (1900).

Labor, Capital Exploited

Wholesale grabbing of land by the British aristocracy drove small farmers and field hands off the soil into the industrial towns, where the resulting over-supply of labor led to competition for work, thus holding wages down.

British capital, in city and country alike, had to pay ground rent and taxes prior to wages; and under these conditions, the purchasing power of the masses remained below the point where British labor could buy the equivalent of its toil and keep British industry in motion. Hence, as ground monopoly solidified, and the tax burden became heavier, British capital entered upon active search for outside markets.

Economic Problem and Marxism

The "Communist Manifesto" of Karl Marx appeared in 1848; and his volume "Capital," written in London, was published in 1867. British industry was now completely gripped in the economic vise of ground monopoly and taxation.

The chief dogma of Marx was that Labor is exploited through private ownership of productive capital; and the main plank in his platform was the well known demand for public, or collective, or common ownership of "the machinery of production and distribution."

A correlative Marxian dogma was that the modern Parliamentary State represents the triumph of the capitalistic class, the "bourgeoisie," over the landed nobility.

Ground Monopoly Seen Too Late by Marx

Stimulated by the "Communist Manifesto" and the first edition of "Capital," the socialist-communist movement rapidly acquired form and momentum on the basis of the dogmas mentioned above.

But in the meanwhile the author of "Capital" continued to investigate economic problems; and after his death, a new edition of "Capital" was published, with appended matter left by Marx under the significant heading *"The Expropriation by which the Country Folk were Divorced from the Land."*

This new section about land monopoly, however, was put into the book too late to become an organic part of "Capital." And, in fact, Marx never understood the double pressure exerted upon productive industry by ground rent and the fiscal power of the State. His posthumous emphasis upon land grabbing, therefore, has never caught up with his early dogma about the monopoly of capital.

Modern State a Compromise Between Land and Capital

The standard pattern of the modern legislative State originated in Britain during the period when land-grabbing reached its climax (1700-1850). The ground lords reluctantly admitted the bourgeoisie to parliamentary power on condition that the mounting fiscal burdens of England and Scotland be laid upon capital and its products, instead of upon the value of land in city and country. *The exempted rental values therefore became an increasing liability upon industry, over and above taxes.*

Hence, the modern parliamentary State does not represent the victory of the bourgeoisie over the landed nobility, as Marx claimed. But on the contrary, the modern State is a compromise between the social prestige of Land and the economic energy of Capital.

Confusion and Readjustment

Today's confusion will persist as long as the world-wide economic issue is pictured as a mere conflict between "Labor and Capital," or between "Communism and Fascism."

But the stream of current history is gradually shifting its course. Marxist elements find themselves under constraint, for the time being, to act with bourgeois progressives against the menace of complete reaction. And in the meanwhile the compromise between Land and Capital, which, in Britain, paved the way toward the modern parliamentary State, is in process of reversal: The British constitution is amended so as to abolish the tax-veto of the House of Lords (the citadel of ground monopoly), thus concentrating governmental power in the House of Commons; and it is only the presence of a "rentier" majority in the Commons that prevents, for the time being, the inevitable transfer of tax burdens from productive capital to ground values, improved and vacant, in city and country. The tax issue, now looming throughout the world, is not simply a revenue question; it is the problem of the fiscal power of the State as an instrument of social change.

Free Reprint from "The Christian Century"

A free reprint of an article by Louis Wallis in The Christian Century, entitled *"The Economic Problem and the Earth,"* can be obtained by sending your name and address, plainly written on a post-card, to Willett Clark & Co. Publishers, 440 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

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ALBERT
SCHWEITZER

Indian Thought and Its Development

From the review in THE HIBBERT JOURNAL

"Many people no doubt will exclaim in wonder that this versatile author is launching out in yet another new direction. But ever since, more than twenty years ago, he first conceived the plan of writing a 'Philosophy of Civilization,' Dr. Schweitzer has been a close student of Indian Philosophy, which contains so much that fits in more closely than anything in European systems of thought with his own doctrine of reverence for Life, that indeed it is not unlikely that his views have been profoundly influenced by his reading of the ancient Indian teachers. He did not now set out to write a book on Indian thinkers. It came almost against his will. In the preparation of the third volume of the Philosophy on which he has been working for years, he found the Indian material he had collected was assuming an enormous bulk, and in order to keep within bounds the book he hopes at last to publish next year, he decided to throw off much of this material in a separate preliminary volume of 272 pages. Will he follow the same procedure with the thinkers of China?

"With all our wealth of valuable, weighty, erudite books on Indian thought for scholars and students, we seem to lack a simple handbook which he who runs may read. This clear exposition should serve as a guide through the highways of Indian Philosophy not only for beginners, but for all who while probing perhaps more deeply in one or another direction would fain keep the main threads of its development in view. And for all who are already students of Dr. Schweitzer's Philosophy, his reactions to that of India must be of extraordinary interest.

"Dr. Schweitzer believes that for Western thinkers it is of special value to gain some insight into Eastern thought, that it will make their own thinking clearer and that it will inevitably mean an enrichment of their outlook. But he recognizes that Indian thought is difficult for us to assimilate because of the essential difference of outlook, seeing that Indian thought in general denies the value of life in itself which European and Chinese thought exalts. From all his studies and meditation and from all his practical experience of life (Dr. Schweitzer is no arm-chair philosopher!) he is convinced that truth and happiness for mankind lie in a *Weltanschauung* of ethical world and life-affirmation, that is to say, that man should regard life as a divine and valuable thing in itself and strive to preserve and further it."

$2.50

HENRY HOLT and COMPANY NEW YORK

Pending the arrival of his successor, the Rev. Elmore McNeill McKee, of Buffalo, the pulpit at St. George's will be filled by the Rev. Prof. Howard Chandler Robbins of the General Theological seminary. Dr. Reiland, who has been the recipient of many honors since the announcement of his impending retirement, plans to devote two years to preaching and lecturing in churches, schools and colleges. He will remain at St. George's, however, as pastor-emeritus.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

Nations Pledge to Use Radio for Peace

Representatives of 36 governments recently signed an agreement at Geneva not to use their radio stations to stir up discord in other nations or to prejudice international relations. The governments represented control or own the radio companies operating in their countries, and hence are in a position to insure propaganda-free broadcasts.

Form Committee to Support Spanish Government

An organization favoring the present Spanish government, Friends of Spanish Democracy, has been formed with offices in New York. Bishop Robert L. Paddock, of the Episcopal church, is chairman. Dr. Samuel Guy Inman is chairman of the executive committee, and Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of the Churchman, vice-chairman. Among the 60 incorporators are Stephen Vincent Benet, Lewis Mumford, Bruce Bliven, Paul Douglas, L. O. Hartman, Edward L. Israel, Congressman Maverick, Charles Clayton Morrison, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Oswald Garrison Villard, Stephen P. Duggan, John Haynes Holmes, Curtis Bok, H. A. Overstreet, Archibald MacLeish, Bishop G. A. Oldham and Henry Pratt Fairchild. Offices are at 70 Fifth avenue.

Mennonites Migrate To Alabama

From drought-seared farms in Minnesota and the Dakotas about 3,000 Mennonites have set out for Alabama, where they intend to take up truck farming along the Gulf coast. About 600 families are in this first migration, and if it succeeds it is said that many more will follow.

Hosts of Veterans Pray for Peace at Lourdes

According to reports from France, the recent pilgrimage to Lourdes of Catholic world war veterans brought 150,000 from all the combatant nations to pray for peace at the famous shrine. Cardinal Lienart, himself a war veteran, presided at the ceremonies, assisted by 20 bishops and archbishops, all veterans.

Unitarian Laymen Discuss Religion

"What shall we do with our religion?" was the question considered by the Unitarian laymen who assembled recently at Watch Hill, R. I. in the annual convention of the Laymen's League of that church. The assumption underlying the discussions was that there are "high obligations that religious liberals must discharge if liberty and justice are to emerge out of these perilous times." Hornell Hart, David Rhys Williams, John Howland Lathrop, Leroy E. Snyder and others led the discussions.

Turks Assume Church Control

Take Over Armenian Catholic Churches To Preserve Internal Peace—Franco-Syrian Treaty Discussed

(Correspondence from Turkey)

ISTANBUL, Sept. 19.—The inability of the Catholic Armenians to conduct their communal affairs in dignity and peace has resulted in the taking over by the Evkaf of the administration of their communal property, composed of eight churches and several buildings. The Evkaf, a typical Moslem institution and a vestige of the old theocratic conception of landed property, administers all mosques as well as all pious foundations and its share in a special type of property called "Vakouf." This institution, which thus wields considerable power, used to be autonomous. It is now a department of state, a situation consistent with Turkey's principles of laicity. Thus, whereas Moslem institutions like mosques, orphanages, hospitals and cemeteries are administered by the state, the non-Mohammedan institutions in Turkey have been able to preserve hitherto a certain amount of social and religious self-administration.

It will now be the business of the Evkaf to administer not only the property belonging to the Catholic Armenian community but also the churches themselves.

* * *

Turkish Language Congress Hears New Theory

The Third Congress of the Turkish language recently held at Istanbul was distinguished from the previous one by the presence of some of the world's best-known philologists and by the first expounding of the "sun" language theory, the new official Turkish theory, which aims both at explaining the evolution of human speech and at supporting the doctrine of the Turkish origin of civilization. According to the theory, the sun was the first object of man's articulated speech, and with the evolution of man, gave rise to all other concepts, both concrete or abstract. According to Turkish historical science, civilization originated in Central Asia, which was peopled by brachycephalic Turks, who for various reasons, mainly climatic, were forced to emigrate and carried their civilization to large parts of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania. This view, according to Turkish philologists, the "sun" theory confirms by finding the clue to the analysis of all the Indo-European languages in the Turkish root "sun."

* * *

Franco-Syrian Agreement Raises Territory Issue

The negotiations which for a long time had been conducted between Syria and the French government recently resulted in a treaty terminating the French mandate over Syria. The treaty is reported to provide also for the entry of Syria into the League of Nations within three years, as well as for a reduction in the number of French troops in Syria and the transference of certain material interests from France to Syria.

In connection with this the question of

Antioch and Alexandretta has become important. In an interview granted to the Tan the Turkish foreign minister, Dr. T. R. Aras, declared that it was his hope that in the new convention between Syria and France, with both of which Turkey entertains the best relations, a local and autonomous administration may have been agreed upon as regards the regime around Alexandretta and Antioch, the population of which is almost exclusively composed of Turks.

* * *

Important Journal Demands Return of Territory

It is interesting to compare this official point of view, which only claims what is due to Turkey under the Turco-French treaties, with that of the Açik Söz, as expounded in an article some two weeks ago, which demands the complete return of Antioch and Alexandretta in connection with the imminent setting up of Syria as an independent country. The 1921 treaty between France and Turkey, that paper explains, provided for a special administration for that zone on account of its being peopled by Turks almost exclusively; but difficulties of a practical nature have so far stood in the way of the enforcement of this administration.

The Açik Söz maintains that the restoration of the territory to Turkey neither violates the spirit of the mandate, nor is likely, as many seem to fear, to give encouragement to revisionist policy in Europe. Since the 1921 treaty, the Turco-Syrian frontier has been modified more than once without reference to the league. Furthermore, Syria is a country that struggles for the removal of the mandate and the recovery of her independence. Her frontiers will have to be redefined, and if she and France agree to the restoration of the districts to Turkey, such a transaction, which would be quickly ratified by the league, could not at any time constitute an impetus to revisionist claims in Europe.

E. GUERON.

Plan Unofficial Peace Conference To Precede Buenos Aires Meeting

Liberal organizations of many kinds, scattered all over Latin America, are putting the final touches on plans for a "people's peace conference" which is to assemble in Buenos Aires a few days before the official Pan-American peace congress gathers there in December. The idea seems to be that these Latin American liberals fear that, with most of the Spanish republics now in the hands of dictators, the official gathering will degenerate into an occasion for empty oratory unless a situation has been created in the public mind which makes it necessary for the delegates to deal with genuine issues. It is not yet known whether there will be persons from the United States in this preliminary unofficial conference.

Canadian Bishop Rules on Wedding Music

Archbishop Forbes of Ottawa, Canada, has sent out a pastoral letter to his clergy in which he requires strict adherence to liturgical law in church music. This, he points out, requires him to forbid the playing at church weddings of the Lohengrin and Mendelssohn wedding marches, the Ave Marias of Gounod, Mascagni, Massenet, Schubert, Rosewig and Lambillote; the "Agnus Dei" by Bizet; the "Pater Noster" of Niedermeyer, and "O Promise Me." Other music which may no longer be played in Canadian Catholic churches includes "O Holy Night" by Adam; "Nazareth" by Granier; "The Palms" by Faure, and "All Praise to St. Patrick." The latter is forbidden even on March 17.

Methodist Church Launches Million Unit Campaign

With the election of Bishop F. T. Keeney as director, the projected "million unit fellowship movement" of the Methodist Episcopal church has been launched, with headquarters in Chicago. Among the announced purposes of the movement are: "To mobilize the resources of the church for study of and action upon the social and economic problems of the day, especially the more equitable distribution of wealth," and "the stabilizing of Methodist opinion in support of a 'third way' which shall be neither communism nor fascism, neither a dictatorship of the left nor one of the right, but a Christian way inspired by the gospel and centuries-old insights of the church." The movement seeks 1,000,000 "units" in the form of subscriptions of $1 a month to Methodist missions and benevolences.

Dr. Leiper Describes Split In German Church Group

Returning from Europe after attending recent church councils, most of them held in Switzerland, Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, foreign secretary of the Federal council of churches, stated that serious divisions have arisen within the so-called Confessional synod which has been opposing nazi domination of the church in Germany. This movement has, until recently, included representatives of almost all branches of German Protestantism, held together by a common determination to protect the church against state control. "The Confessional synod no longer presents a united front," said Dr. Leiper. "Formerly both Lutheran and Reformed, it is now mainly Reformed. The Lutherans who do not want to be dominated by the state, but who do want to see some connection maintained between the church and the state, are now found in a special Lutheran council. The Reformed representatives in the Confessional synod are tending toward the conception of a free church, without state aid and without state control." Dr. Leiper also stated that theological differences have played a part in producing this split, with the Reformed groups following Karl Barth, and the Lutherans repudiating Barth's hostility to any intimate tie-up of church and state.

Religious Drama List Available

The drama department of the Chicago Theological seminary has published a revised edition of its selected list of religious dramas. It may be had upon request, accompanied by three cents for postage, from the seminary at 5757 University avenue, Chicago.

Randolph-Macon College Has Largest Enrolment

Randolph-Macon college, Southern Methodist institution at Ashland, Virginia, is opening with the largest enrolment of students in its long history. Its president, Dr. R. E. Blackwell, is beginning his sixty-seventh year as a professor or officer of the college.

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Church Losses Rouse Scotland

Find Union Has Been Followed by Membership Drop—Nominate Moderator by New Plan

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, Sept. 29.—The home mission committee is working on a remit from the general assembly of the Church of Scotland to prepare a plan for an all-Scotland mission commensurate with the situation in town and country, and is to report its scheme to the next assembly. The idea was not fathered at headquarters, and now imposed on the parishes. Rather, the issue has been raised by one of the city ministers, Dr. J. L. Morgan of Mt. Florida, Glasgow, and is being forced on the committee's attention.

Dr. Morgan points out that the union of 1929 carried with it the promise of a national effort to reclaim those who were without the church—the "lapsed masses" or the "churchless million." Now, at the end of seven years, there is a drop instead of a rise in membership. Of course there are reasons that can be given as part explanation for that, but it surely also indicates that the present methods are insufficient both in kind and in magnitude to deal with the "million outside." Particular successes here and there cannot blot out the reality of the problem.

* * *

Would Move Ministers to Needy Parishes

Dr. Morgan holds that 90 per cent of the outsiders are not very far away, and that if the church goes after them in earnest, it can get them. The difficulty is partly one of reinforcing the staff, he thinks, since many ministers are worked off their feet and have no time to spare. If only there were available more church sisters, deaconesses, students, licentiates, ordained men! Dr. Morgan also advocates taking ministers like Rev. Thomas Notman, who in five years reclaimed 500 lapsed members in the Cowcaddens district of Glasgow, and moving them, under home mission committee direction, to other parishes equally needy.

* * *

Establish New Plan for Selecting Moderator

The method of choosing the moderator of the Church of Scotland was changed by the last assembly, and soon the name of the first nominee under the new method will be announced. (The committee's first choice, Dr. Cox, the clerk of assembly, declined the honor on account of the risk to his eyes in the strain involved.) The nominating committee since the union of the churches has consisted of 25 ministers and 25 elders—all the ex-moderators ex officiis, with the elders and the remaining ministers being appointed by the outgoing assembly. There has been an undercurrent of discontent with this method, on the ground that it was not democratic enough, and that the ex-moderators, who are all elderly men, have an undue weight of influence in appointing their successor. It was true that the elders and some of the ministers were appointed by the assembly, but this merely meant that a nominating committee of that body selected names which were afterward confirmed by the assembly acting as a whole.

The new committee for choosing a moderator is much larger, having about 160 members. It still includes all the ex-moderators, and the assembly still has the appointing of an elder for each ex-moderator. But the remainder (and of course the larger part) of the committee are elected by the presbyteries at their April meetings, each presbytery being entitled to two representatives, a minister and an elder. An effort was made to have this large nominating committee appoint a sub-committee to present a name or names to it for consideration, but this proposal was voted down as taking away with one hand what the new method gave with the other, and as savoring of cliques and coteries.

* * *

Divide Teaching Functions At Aberdeen

One of the last adjustments growing out of the union of the churches has finally been made. It had to do with the relationship between Aberdeen university and the formerly United Free Church college there. (The adjustment in Edinburgh and Glasgow with the divinity halls was achieved much more quickly and also more fairly and satisfactorily to the church, while there never was a United Free college at St. Andrews.) Aberdeen university wanted to absorb the Alford Place college, and to give all theological training under its own auspices and in its own buildings. In order to save itself from being completely submerged, the college had to consent that many theological courses should be given in the university (which is absolutely independent of the church).

The basis of division now agreed upon is that all that is academic in the sense that it might be offered by a university, is to be given at King's college in the university, and such further teaching as is required by the Church of Scotland alone for the training of her divinity students is to be given at Alford Place college. The church college faculty is no longer to be termed the senatus—it will merely be called the council of the college—and the head is no longer to be known as principal, but as master, the terminology in use at Balliol college, Oxford. However Principal D. S. Cairns, so well-known all over the world, will be Principal Cairns to the end of the chapter.

The church feels that there is a wave of irreligion sweeping around the world and that it is conceivable that there might arise in the unfettered universities a tone and temper inimical to the Christian faith. In such circumstances, the church desires to maintain for its colleges as real an independence as possible, even though it be only a relative independence of the universities.

* * *

Churches Pray for Divine Blessing on Jews

Last Sunday was observed throughout the church as a day of special intercession for the Jews, by the appointment of the general assembly. The Christian people of Scotland were called upon to rid their minds of all narrow anti-Jewish prejudice, and the divine blessing was besought for the Jewish people everywhere.

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

Germans Ponder Hitler Speeches

Nuremberg Affronts to Russia Made Over Army's Opposition—Who Will Pay Giant Rearmament Costs?

(Correspondence from Germany)

FRANKFURT, Sept. 21.—Germany is living in the aftermath of the nazi party rally recently held at Nuremberg. Many words might be wasted analyzing the reasons for the vituperative attacks upon soviet Russia made there by Hitler, Göbbels and Rosenberg. They may be interpreted as a direct attempt to achieve a particular foreign political end, viz., the practical nullification of the Franco-Soviet pact, which stands in the way of later movements of the third reich toward securing its interests in central and eastern Europe. Or, on the other hand, they can be taken to indicate that the party had nothing new and concrete to offer its obedient followers. There was, it is shown, strong objections from both the army and the foreign office to this kind of tirade, and it is also generally accepted that it was pressure from these two forces which prevented the grand climax of the rally being a dramatic breaking-off of diplomatic relations between Germany and Russia.

What would have pleased the nazis would have been for the soviet union to have withdrawn its ambassador. Instead, Moscow replied with equal vituperation, and will probably content itself with a diplomatic protest. Asked his opinion on the whole affair, a prominent liberal here shrugged his shoulders and remarked, "Ach, what's the use of trying to beat the Russians by talking? We Germans generally end our conversations at midnight. The Russians only begin then!"

It is certain that Dr. Schacht, who wants to increase trade with Russia, did not find the Nuremberg onslaught an aid to his endeavor.

* * *

Finding Ways to Harass Jews

As far as the introduction of new legislation is concerned, nothing was done. This time last year, it will be remembered, the anti-Jewish legislation had been just approved by a docile reichstag, called specially for that purpose. It was difficult to see what could be done this time without violating certain principles which the nazis declare to be fundamental. They could not "legally" deprive the Jews of their property without laying themselves open to the charge of violating "the sacred law of private property." But it is contemplated that Jewish owners of houses, land, etc., will soon find that, owing to their race, they cannot administer such possessions properly and will be faced with the alternative of selling the same or allowing it to be administered by good "Parteigenossen." Another way of "increasing employment" will also be to get rid of all Jewish doctors (there still remain those with war service, etc.) from the sick insurance scheme.

* * *

New Four Year Plan

Hitler's announcement of a new four year plan was the outstanding event at Nuremberg so far as most Germans were concerned, combined as it was with a demand for colonies. The details of this new plan are still unknown, so that final judgment cannot be passed upon it. But one has only to talk to businessmen—good partymen, not Jews—in such a city as Frankfurt to find that there is little hope of much coming of it. The last (first) four year plan was built up on rearmament and foreign debts, and no German today could tell you just how it all is going to be paid for. I say "going," deliberately, because the amassing of I.O.U.'s, and the piling up to heights, which no one knows, of the state budget cannot be regarded as anything but a Micawber-like action. The "something which will turn up" cannot be anything but a foreign loan or the renunciation of the debts accumulated from the savings of the people.

Hitler's threat to make Germany independent of all essential raw materials from abroad by 1940 is a bold stroke. He hopes that international business, realizing what it must mean to its dividends, will see to it that such a step is not allowed to be taken. For, after all due tribute has been paid to German chemical research and organizing ability, none know better than the experts here that it is, for example, one thing to report that artificial rubber has been invented, but entirely different to supply this in sufficient quantities and at a price to satisfy industry here today. It would be well to ask the biggest rubber works in Germany (the Continental, at Hannover) whether their executives really expect that the new scheme will put their half-time and quarter-time workers back on full time!

This new four year plan appears to be more a rhetorical question asked in the heat of a propagandist speech than based on details worked out by competent experts. But what the plan may do is to lead to a still further "statification" of industry. Everything points that way. What fundamental differences in this respect have hitherto existed between sovietism and nazism will have disapepared at the present rate in a very short period.

* * *

Workers' Wages

"Der Führer" made it clear that there could be no increase in wages at the present time. Whether even nazi terror will be ably effectively to keep down prices to reasonable limits and prevent shortages of essential foodstuffs during the coming winter, remains to be seen. What is certain is that the most important work at Nuremberg was done behind closed doors, when party leaders discussed how to extend state-aid to short-time workers and how to deal with "troublous dissatisfaction" in certain parts of the country. Hitler's well-trained, well-armed praetorian guard still dominate the land, but they cannot create work.

If it were not so serious it would be a joke to see how good Anglo-Saxon "democrats" leave here after a few weeks' stay on the Rhine or in Bavaria with the conviction that nazism is solving Germany's economic problems, better than their own system. Excluding for the moment all question of ethical and cultural values, it is clear to the unbiased observer that were

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the United States or England to embark upon a rearmament scheme such as Germany has executed during the past three years, they would be sending to Africa for more labor!

* * *

Nazism and Culture

The absolute control of the state over all the activities of its citizens, whether religious, cultural or economic, was emphatically laid down in Hitler's address on culture at Nuremberg. Democracy is merely the precursor of anarchy; the authoritarian state alone points the way upwards, he maintains. "The mental condition which produces anarchy, yea, even the mental foundation of all anarchy, is democracy. No state originated through present-day democracy, but all great empires perished through this kind of democracy. For this ultimately leads, in its excesses, to anarchism, while the institution founded upon authoritative principle always leads to the state, i.e., to the higher organization of the community."

These statements are also worth noting: "The more powerful the authority of the political will in the history of peoples and states, the greater their art achievements. . . . With the victory of nazism the play of free forces inaugurated by democracy has ended. For the only justification for those forces was to show which was the strongest power in the state and to give it the leadership of the nation. That has been done. Now comes the day of common achievement and common reconstruction. . . . The nazi idea and the movement which carries and furthers it, having come out victor from the play of free forces, will henceforth lead the nation not only politically, but also economically and culturally."

There must also be, in Hitler's mind, a fundamental difference between the ideas of Christianity and of nazism because he declares that "only a Christian era could produce Christian art; only a nazi era can produce a nazi art!" The great idea of nazi art is, according to Hitler, to be revealed primarily in architecture. Frederick the Great built the new palace at Potsdam to prove that he was not bankrupt after the seven years war. Hitler is going to rebuild Berlin, Munich and Nuremberg as monuments for the future. We know today what social historians have said about the sufferings of the common people in Prussia after 1763. "This party is called the National Socialist *Workers* party," said a cynic recently, "because it is the workers who pay!"

* * *

Omissions at Nuremberg

The Nuremberg rally was significant as much for what it did not say as for what it did. This year there was absolutely no reference to the churches, Protestant or Roman Catholic. Such an omission was all the more significant seeing that the Vatican had given Hitler a good lead in its anti-bolshevik attitude. The Roman Catholic bishops conference at Fulda a few weeks ago even went so far as to appeal to "Der Führer" to bury the hatchet and grant religious toleration so as to present a united front to the "pest from the east." An excellent bait, but somehow the fish did not bite. Whether Cardinal Orsenigo, of Berlin, who is now visiting at the Vatican, will tell Cardinal Pacelli that he considers the time opportune for the latter to visit Germany and further pursue this issue remains to be seen. It would certainly help indirectly to improve Italo-German relations in view of the assiduous care taken by Mussolini to keep well in with the papacy just now.

Nothing has been heard regarding the nazis' reaction to the protest against state tyranny made by the oppositional synod in the Evangelical church. It was ignored at Nuremberg and is still giving authoritative circles much food for thought, in view of Anglo-Saxon interest in this issue and its possible repercussions on foreign affairs. Dr. Marahrens and Dr. Meiser, bishops of Hannover and of Bavaria respectively, should be able to inform American clergy and laity on this matter during their coming visit to the states. They are, I understand, visiting New York for the Lutheran World convention, Sept. 28 to Oct. 7, and will afterwards visit various Lutheran churches in America. Both bishops are members of the executive committee of the convention.

* * *

German Faith Movement

The difficulties within the German Faith movement seem to find no end. Its organ, Durchbruch, which "fights for German faith, race and nationhood" has again lost its editor. Hans Kurth now resigns, following the example of Count Ernst Reventlow and Prof. Hauer of Tübingen, who left it some months ago. Herr Kurth also leaves the Faith movement, it is reported.

A. S. Eker.

Colgate-Rochester Seminary Dedicates New Chapel

The Samuel Colgate memorial chapel was recently dedicated on the campus of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity school in Rochester, N. Y. The chapel, which is the gift of the children and grandchildren of Samuel Colgate, is a Gothic structure completing the group of buildings which were occupied first in 1932. At the dedication services addresses were made by Mr. Russell Colgate, Mr. S. Bayard Colgate and by Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president of the school.

Prof. Walter Horton Warns Churches

A warning that serious consequences will follow upon the failure of the churches to bring their members into closer conformity with their ideals was sounded by Prof. Walter M. Horton of Oberlin college in an address at Mills college before the Pacific area conference of the World Student federation. "In America today," Dr. Horton said, "many of our church members are essentially pagan. They believe that their church attendance helps them to bolster up their respectability and their narrow conception of Americanism, much more than they believe in a universal Christianity based on the ideals of brotherhood. American churches may soon, in consequence of this attitude on the part of so great a part of the membership, be facing the same crisis that has overtaken religion in Germany."

New Religious Journal Starts Career

Dr. Harry Carl Woolever, former editor of the National Methodist Press, is now the editor of a new magazine, These Times, a bi-weekly journal which will en-

gage in discussion of matters of public policy it believes to be important to religious people. It plans to be interdenominational and non-partisan; to promote church union and foreign and domestic peace. It will stand for "national, state and county governments manned by those who are actuated by the basic Christian principles of our national founders and by the democratic, representative principles of the writers of the constitution of the United States." The first issue of the magazine, which has just appeared, carries an article by the editor, "America Menaced from Within," which is a warning against the influence of John L. Lewis.

Evanston Ministers Support Dr. Coe

The Evanston (Ill.) ministerial association this week voted approval of Dr. Albert B. Coe, of Oak Park, whose recent insistence in the face of opposition by the local American Legion upon the right of the communist candidate for governor in Illinois to address a meeting in his church secured widespread notice. The resolution, introduced by Dr. Tittle and unanimously adopted, recommended that "the association write a letter expressing their appreciation of the courage of Dr. Coe in maintaining the right of freedom of speech, and to the board of trustees of his church for upholding his stand."

Dean Weigle Discusses Preaching

The divinity school of Yale university opened on Oct. 1 with 216 students, 66 of whom are graduate students. President James Rowland Angell of the university presided at the opening service, and Dean Luther A. Weigle of the divinity school made the address. "There has been some sharp criticism of the preaching from Christian pulpits in recent years," Dean Weigle said. "Much of this criticism has been from laymen who resent what ministers have said concerning issues in current social and economic practices. A ministry that is in any real sense prophetic must always expect to meet criticism of that sort and should not be intimidated by it. But much of the recent criticism has been directed at preaching that is neither prophetic nor religious. This criticism has come from laymen who have failed to get from the pulpit utterances of their ministers the moral and spiritual sustenance which they have a right to expect."

Christian-Jewish Committee Offers Help in Strike

The San Francisco Conference of Jews and Christians has offered to aid in the settlement of a waterfront labor dispute, which threatens to result in a serious strike. Dr. Edgar A. Lowther, Father Thomas J. Burke and Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee were named as a committee to tender the help of the conference to the groups involved.

Catholic Editor Urges Unity Against Atheism

Rev. Francis X. Talbot, the editor of America, Roman Catholic weekly, says in a recent statement addressed to Catholics, Protestants and Jews: "The day for minor differences of opinion in regard to religion has passed. . . . I do not mean that dogma is being merged, that doctrine is being compromised, that changes are in process by which Protestant would accept Catholic affirmations or Jewish affirmations, or by which Catholic would drop one dogma at Protestant request. But I do mean that Catholic, Protestant and Jew, that every believer in God, is being forced back to the primary and fundamental dogma on which all of them unite—namely, the affirmation of the existence of a supreme being whom we know as God."

United Church Moderator Favors Episcopacy

Dr. Richard Roberts, the moderator of the United Church of Canada, in his recent address to the General council, advocated the addition of some form of episcopacy to the present system of presbyterian control in that church. After stressing the values to local churches which might accrue from the annual visits of a superintendent, he said: "In addition, such an officer of the church could do much more in the matter of ministerial settlement by quiet and tactful action within an area with which he is familiar . . . than a settlement committee, working in inevitable haste before and amid the pressure and distractions of conference."

Dr. Van Kirk Challenges Churches on Peace

Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, the director of the National peace conference, in a recent statement charged the churches with failure to support their pronouncements for peace with appropriations for peace education and effort. "This business of passing resounding resolutions," he said, "and then refusing to appropriate as much as one per cent of our church budgets for peace begins to smell like hypocrisy. It is time we go into action in a much more convincing way than we have yet done."

Inter-Faith Mass-Meeting In Washington

Representatives of Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews met in Washington last week in the second annual mass-meeting of the Committee on religious life in the nation's capital. Secretary of Commerce Roper and important clergymen made addresses.

New War Secretary Pacifist Enemy

That the newly appointed temporary secretary of war, Harry H. Woodring, can hardly be expected to cooperate with groups interested in promoting disarmament, is apparent from the following reported remarks to an American Legion convention early this year: "We find that for fifteen years, with full knowledge of the situation abroad, organized minorities have carried on with increasing vigor a campaign against adequate national defense for the protection of these United States. Their leaders occupy strategic positions in colleges, churches and other organizations, both conservative and radical. For example, I am thinking of a recent poll made of 22,000 clergymen, professors and students; one third, to be accurate 8,900, said they would never bear arms for the United States in any event. Shame on them! To think that they would live and take all of the privileges which abound in this glorious country and then turn traitors if war should come, is a disgrace to their manhood. . . . Eighteen years of peace have given us three hundred pacifist organizations, many of which, under the guise of the church on the one hand, or under the guise of radicalism on the other, are seeking total disarmament. It is totally beyond my comprehension that any churchmen can cooperate with communist and radical groups in their opposition to national defense, when in so doing they are practically preparing the way for their own death warrant. A cardinal policy of these groups is complete atheism and the destruction of all established churches." Pacifist organizations have not yet voiced any determined protest of Mr. Woodring's appointment largely because it is expected to be only temporary.

Rabbi Israel Hails Warburg's Support of Landon

Dr. Edward L. Israel, widely known Jewish leader in social justice efforts, has pointed out in a press interview that the announcement by Felix Warburg in favor of Gov. Landon's election should put an end to the anti-semitic attacks leveled against President Roosevelt. The Presi-

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dent, according to Rabbi Israel, has been accused of being under the influence of Jews who are trying to "communize" America largely because of the support given him by Prof. Felix Frankfurter of Harvard. "Mr. Warburg is far more officially identified with Jewish life than Dr. Frankfurter," Dr. Israel points out. "He is a member of the American Jewish committee, that group of outstanding Jewish laymen whom anti-semites have often tried to identify with the mythical 'Elders of Zion.' I wonder whether Edmondson, Pelley and James True, and all the other Jew-baiters, will not change their tune and tell the public that the 'Elders of Zion' are backing Landon since Felix Warburg has spoken?" With Jews supporting all the parties, Dr. Israel comments that they "are motivated by the same factors which determine the political and economic opinions of American Protestants and Catholics."

Taking Orders Now for Kagawa Calendars

In order to provide against the sort of thing that happened last year, when supplies of the Kagawa calendars published in Japan were quickly exhausted, Miss Helen F. Topping, Dr. Kagawa's personal representative in this country, announces that advance orders for the 1937 Kagawa calendars are now being taken. The price will be the same, 10 cents each or $3 for 50, and advance orders should be sent Miss Topping at Andover-Newton Theological seminary, Newton Center, Mass.

Muste Repudiates Violence; Avows Self a Christian Pacifist

The high point of the National conference on pacifism and religion which the Fellowship of Reconciliation held at Bound Brook, N. J., opening Sept. 25, was repudiation by A. J. Muste, former leader of the Trotsky branch of the communist movement in the United States, of revolutionary violence and his espousal of the methods of Christian pacifism as the only way to peace and justice. Mr. Muste charged that the doctrine that the end justifies the means betrays workers wherever it is followed, including Russia, and hastens the general war now threatening the world. "I return to the Fellowship of Reconciliation," he said, "knowing from experience in the revolutionary movement that he who denies love betrays justice and murders peace." Other speakers at the conference included Walter W. Van Kirk, Ray Freeman Jenney, Halford E. Luccock and Jerome Davis.

Southern Methodists Agitate Early Unification Vote

Recent issues of publications of the Methodist Episcopal church, south, indicate that a determined effort is being made by many individuals and groups throughout the denomination to secure an earlier vote by the annual conferences than would normally occur on the pending plan of unification with two other Methodist bodies. The annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal and the Methodist Protestant churches are now voting on the plan, which their general conferences have approved. The general conference of the southern church will not meet till 1938. It is the contention of many that the annual conferences should vote on the plan before rather than after the general conference meets, so that the whole issue may be finally determined by the spring of 1938. This reversal of the usual procedure is entirely legal, but many insist that more time is needed for discussion of the merits of the plan.

Canadian Church Backs Birth Control

The General council of the United Church of Canada in its recent session at Ottawa, approved the recommendation of a committee that birth control clinics under rigid supervision be established. The council also favored the voluntary sterilization of persons with hereditary mental defect or disease.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Craig's Wife

(Rosalind Russell, John Boles) (Columbia) Egocentric wife, seeking security, not love, relentlessly keeps her possessions for herself, estranges friends, kin, husband, and earns heart-breaking solitude at end. Unsympathetic role finely done with elegance and restraint—save absurd eyelashes.

For A: Very good. For Y: Mature but good. For C: No.

Down to the Sea

(Ben Lyon, Russell Hardie) (Republic) Interesting under-water photography of deepsea sponge divers and shallow water "hookers" gives vivid idea of sponge industry. But clumsy melodrama about rival sponge-gatherers and a girl thoroughly bury educational value.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Fair. For C: Perhaps.

End of the Trail

(Jack Holt, Louise Henry) (Columbia) Just another western on present formula of having hero a "badman" who simply cannot be happy without a racket. Holt keeps cast falling around him with jolts

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to the jaw, and a gruesome finish by gallows is achieved.

For A: Trash. For Y: No. For C: No.

Give Me Your Heart

(Kay Francis, Roland Young) (Warner) Dignified problem play about unwed mother who, to insure child's good name, gives him up to married father's family. Resultant heart-aches end fairly convincingly in three happy marriages. Roland Young's role outstanding comedy.

For A: Very good. For Y: Over mature. For C: No.

Mister Cinderella

(Jack Haley, Betty Furness) (Hal Roach) Headlong slapstick, about a barber idiotically impersonating a millionaire. Fast, hilarious, raucous series of crazy situations, full of hokum and sure-fire devices for laughs. Rowdy fun for all whose taste runs this way.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Perhaps. For C: Perhaps.

Sitting on the Moon

(Roger Pryor, Grace Bradley) (Republic) Rambling stuff about tin-pan alley composer desperately devoted to making his beloved heroine a success as a radio star. Wife he married on drunken spree complicates things a bit. Few wisecracks but quite enough "singing."

For A: Mediocre. For Y: No. For C: No.

Tempest

(Emil Jannings, Anna Sten) (English titles) (Ufa) Seamy side of life ably played. Hero, his latest jail term over, joyously rejoins mistress who has been cheating merrily. Stormy action follows, until hero kills his chief rival and returns gladly to jail leaving her to still another.

For A: Perhaps. For Y: No. For C: No.

Yellowstone

(Henry Hunter, Ralph Morgan) (Univ) Some charming photography of Yellowstone features, thoroughly cluttered by dark doings of old crooks returning to seek hidden treasure buried under the famous falls. Labored melodrama of artificial thrill and glaring absurdity.

For A: Hardly. For Y, C: Little value.

Best Recent Films for Family:

Gentle Julia — Star for a Night
Charlie Chan at Racetrack — Swing Time
China Clipper — Educating Father

Films of Special Interest to Adults:

Last of Mohicans — Anthony Adverse
Romeo and Juliet — Nine Days a Queen
Gorgeous Hussy — Ramona

BOOKS RECEIVED

Like Softest Music, Love Stories of Famous Composers, by Rose Heylbut. Crowell, $3.00.

After Death, by Leslie D. Weatherhead. Abingdon, $1.00.

The Renaissance of Physics, by Karl K. Darrow. Macmillan, $3.00.

Connop Thirlwall, Historian and Theologian, by John Connop Thirlwall, jr. Macmillan, $4.00.

American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century, by Sister Mary Augustina (Ray). Columbia University Press, $4.75.

Seven Books of History Against the Pagans, The Apology of Orosius, transiated with introduction and notes by Irving Woodworth Raymond. Columbia University Press, $4.50.

The Lives of Tallyrand, by Crane Brinton. W. W. Norton, $3.00.

Intelligence in Politics, by Max Ascoli. W. W. Norton, $2.50.

Death in the Deep South, A Novel about Murder, by Ward Greene. Stackpole Sons, $2.00.

America Contradicts Herself, The Story of our Foreign Policy, by Ryllis Alexander Goslin and William T. Stone. (Headline Books) Grosset & Dunlap, 35 cents.

Flutes in the Wind, Poems by Ida Lillian Padelford, Henry Harrison, 430 Sixth Ave., New York, $1.50.

Seasons Are Sure, Poems by Forrest Elliott. Henry Harrison, $1.50.

Days of Pity, Poems by James Franklin Lewis. Henry Harrison, $1.75.

Morningshore Children, Poems by Sarabeth Leslie. Henry Harrison, $2.00.

As in a Dream, Poems by Florence Emlyn Downs Muzzy. Henry Harrison, $1.50.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New Brunswick, N. J. (Issue for Sept. 1936, A History of General Theological Seminary.)

Preface to Peasantry, A Tale of Two Black Counties, by Arthur F. Raper. University of North Carolina Press $3.50.

A History of Emory University, by Henry Morton Bullock. Parthenon Press, Nashville.

The Jew and the Universe, by Solomon Goldman. Harpers, $2.50.

"All We Like Sheep," by Ethel G. Rockwell. Baker, 50 cents.

Scorpion, A Good Bad Horse, by Will James. Scribners, $2.50.

Portrait of an Era as Drawn by C. D. Gibson, A Biography, by Fairfax Downey. Scribners, $3.50.

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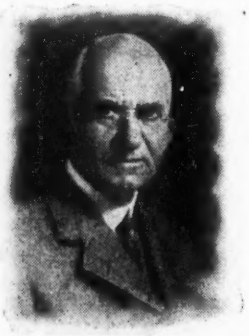

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